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ABSTRACT

The book presents a series of papers on mainstreaming that were part of a University of Michigan seminar for special education doctoral students. In Part I, "The Origins and Evolution of Mainstreaming," the authors discuss the various forces that have encouraged the development of mainstreaming and the least-restrictive-environment concept, including the historical emergence of special education as a field, American attitudes toward the handicapped, litigative and legislative factors in mainstreaming, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act (P.L. 94-142), and parents. Part II, "The Implications of Mainstreaming," focuses on four important areas: the sources of resistance to the inclusion of special needs children in regular classrooms, several critical issues raised by mainstreaming for the public schools, mainstreaming's implications for nonwhite children, and teacher training for mainstreaming. (DLS)

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Minneapolis, Minnesota
1977

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FOREWORD

In this academic year, 1977-78, 81 "Deans' Grants" are supported by the Division of Personnel Preparation, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, U.S. Office of Education. Each project is concerned with the reconstruction of preparation programs for teachers and other school personnel to take account of new policies in regard to handicapped students. In particular, these grants focus on helping teachers to increase their capability to structure the "regular" school environment to make it more accommodative of handicapped students. Many of the Deans' Grants projects are now beginning to produce ideas and products which can be shared.

A unique undertaking at the University of Michigan, as part of its Dean's project, was the development of a graduate seminar that focused on the knowledge base for the whole set of activities then being generated at Michigan and other colleges of education. Dean Bates and the several of his colleagues and students involved in the seminar took the extra step of writing and editing some of their findings which the National Support System is pleased to help share through this publication. It is one of the growing set of publications emanating from the Deans' Grants projects.

Maynard C. Reynolds, Director
National Support Systems Project

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DEAN'S PREFACE

This volume presents material on and perspectives about the provision of more equitable educational opportunities for handicapped children within a specific context--that of the public schools--through the approach currently known as mainstreaming. It is my hope that the reader will find the chapters both informative and provocative. But I hope, also, that the reader will come to agree that the problem is not simply educational, that the context cannot be confined to the public schools, and that no single approach can possibly fulfill our obligations to all our children. The value of this book, in my opinion, lies at least partially in its clarification of both the number and complexity of the issues to be considered. It does not pretend to resolve them; instead, more modestly and I think more fruitfully, it suggests some of the factors--attitudinal, legislative, financial, communal, and educational--that must be considered if a resolution of the issues is ultimately to be achieved.

What I find encouraging, after more than 40 years in public service and education, is that we are now discussing these complex and emotional issues with the candor they so obviously deserve. It is of course true that much progress remains to be achieved. But it is also true that we have come some considerable distance already. It is this that seems to me to justify both some degree of optimism and a new determination to move ahead.

Wilbur J. Cohen
Dean
School of Education
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AUTHORS' PREFACE

During the Winter Term of the 1976 academic year, the editors offered a topical seminar on mainstreaming to special education doctoral students. The format for topical seminars typically has been presentations, discussions, and course papers. However, because the three instructors represent an unusual combination of skills and resources, it was decided to attempt an innovation: to write a book as a group. Tests, assignments, and term papers were abandoned, the professor-student role was replaced with the peer-sharing model, and even the time schedule was determined through group decision making. Our purposes were three-fold: (a) to develop awareness, skill, and understanding of the writing process among individuals who, by virtue of their imminent degrees, would be expected to contribute, usually cooperatively, to their field; (b) to provide an opportunity to investigate mainstreaming, a concept about which there was a paucity of information and an abundance of misunderstanding; and (c) to explore a novel approach to doctoral training, one that relies upon the personal responsibility of cooperating colleagues. This volume is the result of that effort.

In the Introduction, West and Bates offer an overview of the mainstreaming concept. Three broad questions are addressed:

1. What is mainstreaming?
2. Where did it come from?
3. What effect does it have?

This chapter culminates in a discussion of some issues surrounding mainstreaming.

In Part I, The Origins and Evolution of Mainstreaming, the authors discuss the various forces that have encouraged the development of mainstreaming and the least-restrictive-environment concept. Chavez traces the emergence of special education as a field from the sixteenth century to the present. Zand examines American attitudes toward the handicapped from both a philosophical and historical perspective. Raske traces litigative and legislative factors in mainstreaming through recent federal legislation, P.L. 94-142, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. West and Bates include a brief summary of the salient points of P.L. 94-142. Greenbaum and Markel examine the influence and impact of parents and mainstreaming and of mainstreaming on parents.

In the Interlude, Schmerl comments on his reactions to some of the substantive issues raised by the preceding authors. Particular attention is paid to the limits of acceptability of children for mainstreaming, the political perspective that appears to underlie the authors' work, and the universal assumption that education should personally benefit individual children.

Part II, The Implications of Mainstreaming, focuses on four important areas. Schoolmaster analyzes the sources of resistance to the inclusion of special needs

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children in the regular classroom. Cook and Morris discuss several critical issues raised by mainstreaming for the public schools. McLaughlin-Williams focuses attention on mainstreaming's implications for nonwhite children, underscoring the need for caution in this area. To conclude the volume, West and Bates examine the concept of mainstreaming in terms of teacher training, offering a reconceptualization of the personnel preparation process in which the interactive nature of the educational community is recognized.

Percy Bates
Terry L. West
Rudolph B. Schmerl

January 1977

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

Mainstreaming: An Overview

Terry L. West & Percy Bates

There is much confusion about mainstreaming. The term itself entered the education vocabulary so recently that we still encounter educators who are unfamiliar with it. Moreover, those who employ it seem so often to mean different things by it. Whether we are pleased by its euphony or distracted by its flippancy, the term "mainstreaming" is of little importance. What is important is that the people most directly affected by it--exceptional and nonexceptional children, classroom teachers, special teachers, parents, principals, supportive staff, teacher educators, and their students--are confused about its meaning.

It is a short step from confusion to anger, and a shorter one from anger to rejection. We are reminded of a teacher who, for many years, had earned the respect and affection of all who knew her. Influenced by the open education movement, she examined its goals and found them to be good for her students. She abandoned her old style of teaching and established an "open" classroom. Because she confused "open" with "unstructured," her classes became chaotic. The children, their parents, the principal, her colleagues, and she herself were dissatisfied. She soon reverted to her earlier style, rejecting open education, its goals, and its advocates. Moreover, because she was well regarded by her colleagues, the principal, and parents, they too rejected open education. Blame does not rest with this teacher but, rather, with the proponents of open education who might have anticipated in their advocacy that "openness" is easily misinterpreted as lacking structure.

In this chapter we address three very broad questions:

1. What is mainstreaming?
2. Where did it come from?
3. What effect does it have?

Throughout, we have attempted to anticipate critical areas where confusion might occur. Some of the topics are discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this volume.

The Mainstreaming Concept

Well over a decade ago, we heard this anecdote (attributed to Bill Cosby):

Teacher: Repeat after me. One and one is two!
Class: One and one is two!!
Teacher: One and one is two!!!
Class: One and one is two!!!!
Teacher: One and one is two!!!!!
Class: One and one is two!!!!!!
Teacher: What's one and one???
Class: One and one is two!!!!!!!
Voice from the back of the room: What's a one?

Superficially, mainstreaming seems as straightforward as the answer to the "oneness" question. Birch (1974) for example noted that,

> Simply stated, mainstreaming is providing high-quality special education to exceptional children while they remain in regular classes for as much of the day as possible. (p. 2)

We have had individuals in other fields inquire about mainstreaming. When quoted the above, a typical response is, "That seems reasonable. Why all the controversy?"

Why indeed? Like oneness, mainstreaming is simple on the surface but incredibly complex upon closer examination. We have known individuals who believe that mainstreaming will result in the dissolution of special education and the "dumping" of all variant children into regular classes. Conversely, we are familiar with school systems that claim to be mainstreaming because a few exceptional children are permitted to attend gym, art, or home economics classes. We think the fears of the first group are unfounded and the understanding of the second, limited.

Mainstreaming has only recently come to the fore. Since it emerged out of special education, one would expect general educators to evince confusion about its meaning. After all, they have had little or no interactions with exceptional children. However, special educators also have been confused. In an attempt to resolve some of the confusion, the Delegate Assembly of the Council for Exceptional Children adopted the following definition:

> Mainstreaming is a belief which involves an educational placement procedure and process for exceptional children, based on the conviction that each such child should be educated in the least restrictive environment in which his educational and related needs can be satisfactorily provided. This concept recognizes that exceptional children have a wide range of special educational needs, varying greatly in intensity and duration; that there is a recognized continuum of educational settings which may, at a given time be appropriate for an individual child's needs; that to the maximum extent appropriate, exceptional children should be educated with non-exceptional children; and that special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of an exceptional child from education with non-exceptional children should occur only when the intensity of the child's special education and related needs is such that they cannot be satisfied in an environment including non-exceptional children,

> even with the provision of supplementary aids and services. (Michigan Federated Chapters of the CEC, 1976)

The Council for Exceptional Children (CEC), the professional organization for special educators, has listed four basic themes that explicate the intent of mainstreaming:

1. Providing the most appropriate education for each child in the least restrictive setting;
2. Looking at the educational needs of children instead of clinical or diagnostic labels such as mentally handicapped, learning disabled, physically handicapped, hearing impaired, or gifted;
3. Looking for and creating alternatives that will help general educators serve children with learning or adjustment problems in the regular setting. Some approaches being used to help achieve this are consulting teachers, methods and materials specialists, itinerant teachers and resource room teachers;
4. Uniting the skills of general education and special education so that all children may have equal educational opportunity. (Erickson, 1975, P. 174)

CEC has also advised that the intent of mainstreaming is not be misinterpreted as:

1. Wholesale return of all exceptional children in special classes to regular classes;
2. Permitting children with special needs to remain in regular classrooms without the support services that they need;
3. Ignoring the need of some children for a more specialized program that can be provided in the general education program;
4. Less costly than serving children in special self-contained classrooms. (Erickson, 1975, p. 174)

Although the goals of mainstreaming are laudable, there is still confusion in both general and special education about what mainstreaming is and how it should be accomplished. We caution that mainstreaming is a means, not an end. It is a service delivery system--an administrative arrangement for allocating resources and personnel. Mainstreaming does not guarantee high-quality education; it is an approach that holds forth hope, not promise. Ultimately, its value must be assessed through its effects on children, not in terms of convenience or efficiency.

The lack of clarity about mainstreaming extends to the question of who is to be mainstreamed. It is apparent to all that the concept includes those exceptional children traditionally served by the public schools. There is controversy over whether the concept also includes children presently enrolled in county or state facilities outside of the school's dominion. The movements of de-institutionalization and mainstreaming are cut from the same cloth: the right of all children to the best education possible. We do not have an answer to the "who" question, only an opinion: Public Schools should evolve into organizations providing individualized instruction for all children, with the mainstreaming concept first applied to the children the schools now serve. We envision mainstreaming and deinstitutionalization as two rocks cast into the same still pond. Each set of concentric circles defines a different center, but the ripple effect ultimately subsumes both. With Martin (1972), we share the desire "to make more real the vision of an educational system which is 'special' for every child" (p. 520).

The resource room/helping teacher model is the core of the mainstreaming concept. Proponents of mainstreaming represent this model as an alternative to the special class. In the special class model (Fig. 1) variant children are educated in classrooms isolated from their age and grade peers. The special class attained prominence during the post-World-War-II era. As Reynolds (1975) observed, "during that period, for the first time in the history of education, exceptional children were made a part of the total school community through stations built into the schools" (p. 21). Although special classes were located in the schools, they were seldom an integral part of the school. Like two families co-existing under the same roof, special and general education each had their own children and resources--personnel, leadership, and funding.

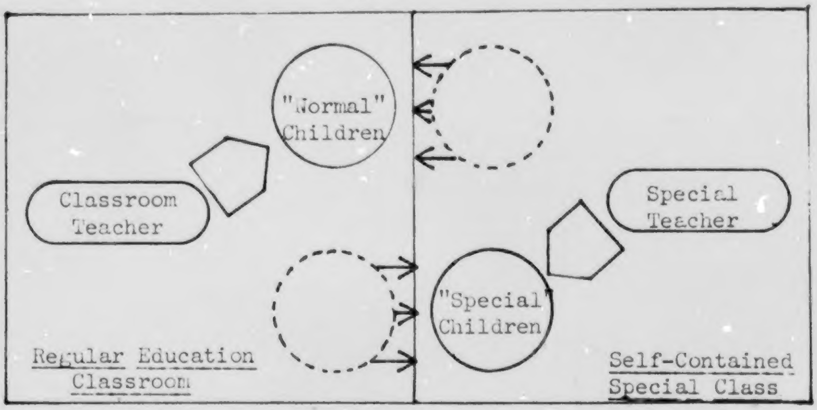

Fig. 1. The special class model.

When we consider that variant children historically had been excluded from the schools, and that their right to an education was not guaranteed by law or encouraged by public opinion, it is tempting to view the self-contained special class as a step forward. Inclusion is better than exclusion; but the special class segregated children. And unfortunately, it also institutionalized the exceptional vs. normal dichotomy.

The resource room/helping teacher model (Fig. 2) re-conceptualized the relation of special education to the classroom. It rectified the erroneous notion that special education exists apart from the life of the school, that it is a place where exceptional children are exiled for 35 hours each week. The helping-teacher model reifies our common belief that the needs of every child should take precedence over

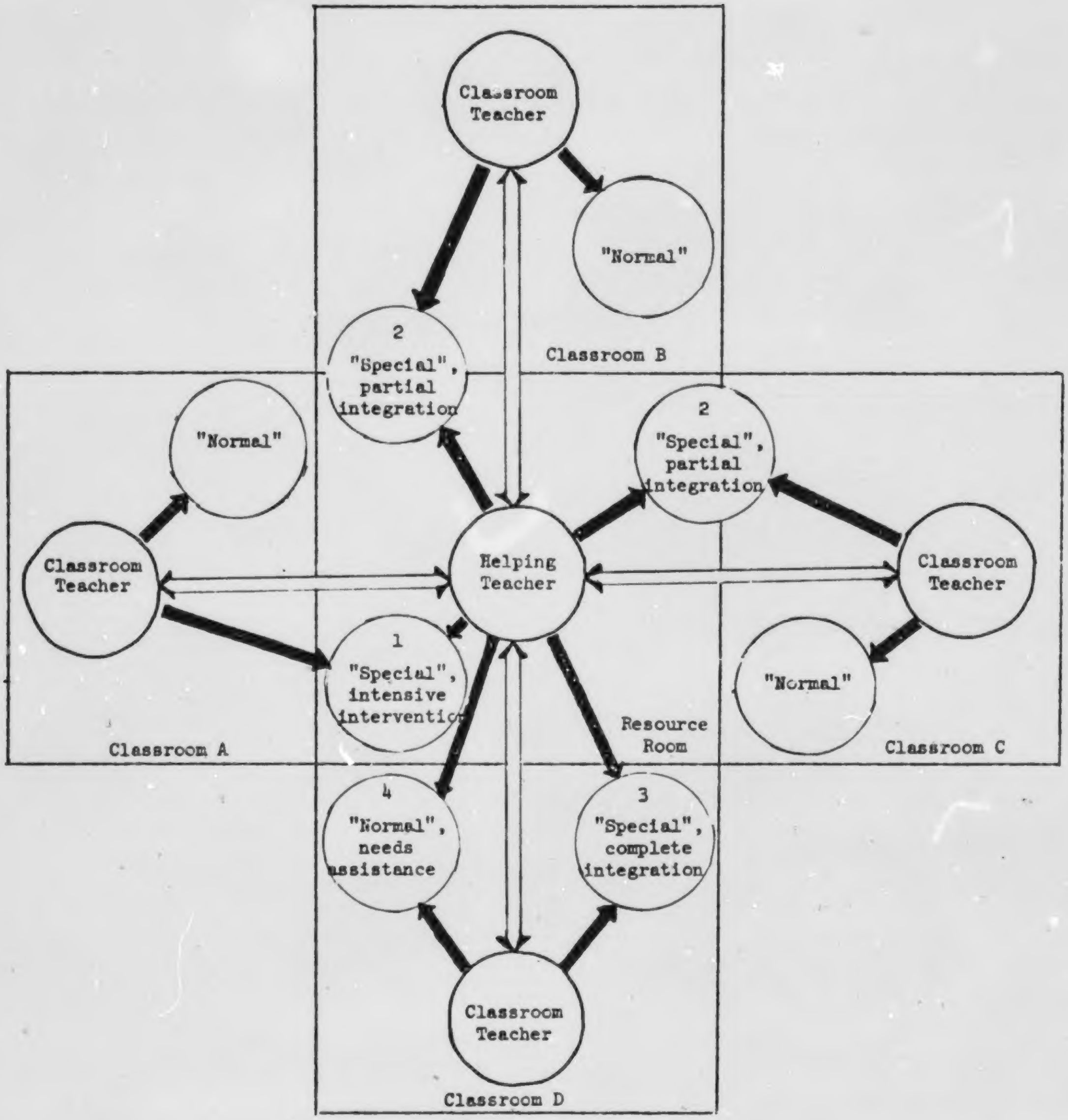

Fig. 2. The Resource Room/Helping Teacher Model

the convenience of the delivery system. For example, some children (Fig. 2, #1) need intensive intervention in brief isolation from the regular classroom; the needs of other children (#2, classrooms B and C) dictate that they spend part of their school day in the resource room, and part in the classroom; still others (#3, classroom D) would best profit from full integration into regular classrooms. Proponents anticipate that mainstreaming will eliminate the "separate-but-equal" relation of special to general education and de-emphasize, if not resolve, the classification dilemma between stigmatization and the need for identification.

Another notable dimension of the helping teacher/resource room model is its recognition that there are children who are not identifiable as exceptional (#4, classroom D) but who need additional assistance. Combined with changing reimbursement patterns, this model gives all children access to whatever special help they may need.

When the helping teacher/resource room model is contrasted with the special class, one outstanding modification that is noted is the formal relationship of classroom and special education teachers. The special education teacher, better known as the helping teacher in recognition of this new aspect of the role, provides classroom teachers with assistance of two types: (a) in diagnosing, planning for, and teaching children with special needs (Fig. 2); and (b) in gaining access to the supportive resources available in the school, the school system, the community, and the universities (Fig. 3).

Mainstreaming re-defines the role of the special education teacher. The self-contained teacher was responsible for direct intervention with specifically identified children. The helping teacher role has three facets:

1. Intervening directly with children who need additional assistance, either while in the regular classroom or in brief isolation from it, as the best interests of the child dictate.

2. Providing consultative assistance to the classroom teacher in designing appropriate educational plans for children in selecting effective materials, methodologies, techniques, evaluation, and diagnostic strategies, etc.

3. Serving as a liaison between the classroom teacher and the supportive resources of the educational system, both within the school system and outside of it, when the classroom teacher requests such assistance.

In this way, the helping teacher serves as the most important person in mainstreaming: as interventionist, consultant, and liaison person.

Origins

During the last year we have spoken with many teachers, administrators, parents, teacher trainers, and university students about the mainstreaming concept. Once our

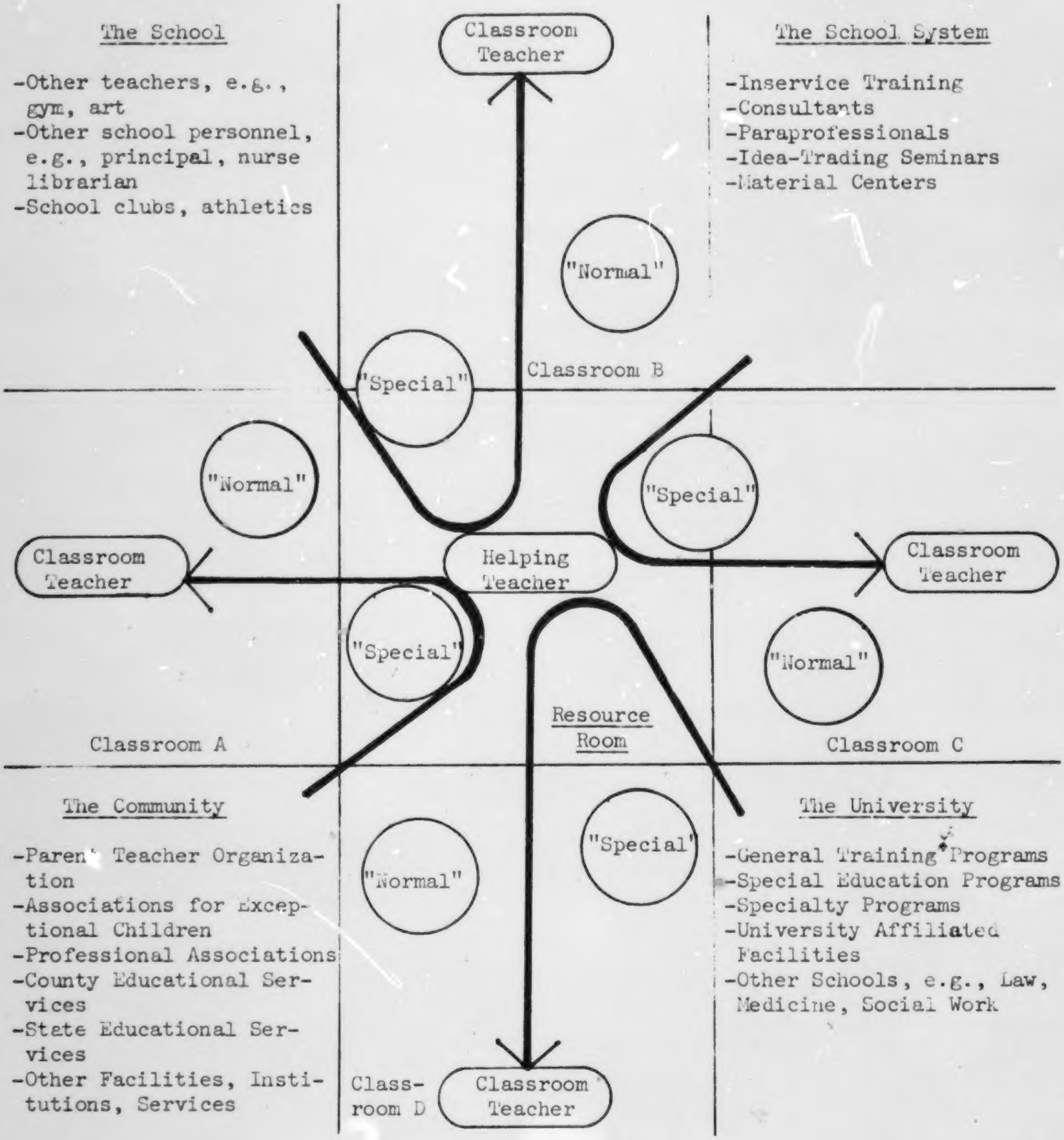
The School
-Other teachers, e.g., gym, art
-Other school personnel, e.g., principal, nurse librarian
-School clubs, athletics
Classroom Teacher
The School System
-Inservice Training
-Consultants
-Paraprofessionals
-Idea-Trading Seminars
-Material Centers
"Normal"
"Special"
Classroom B
"Normal"
"Special"
Classroom Teacher
Helping Teacher
Classroom Teacher
"Special"
"Normal"
Resource Room
Classroom A
Classroom C
The Community
-Parent Teacher Organization
-Associations for Exceptional Children
-Professional Associations
-County Educational Services
-State Educational Services
-Other Facilities, Institutions, Services
"Normal"
"Special"
The University
-General Training Programs
-Special Education Programs
-Specialty Programs
-University Affiliated Facilities
-Other Schools, e.g., Law, Medicine, Social Work
Classroom D
Classroom Teacher

Fig. 3. The Helping Teacher as a Liaison to Supportive Resources

discussions found their way through the confusion of what mainstreaming is, the next question typically asked was, "Where did it come from?" It took us a while to recognize that there are really two questions implicit here. The first relates to causality. The second calls for a rationale. Those with whom we spoke wished to know the causal antecedents of the mainstreaming movement, and the arguments put forth in support of the concept. Note that "arguments" is plural; mainstreaming is complex and broadly defined, and its rationales are many and complex.

When special education is viewed historically, for example, the change from exclusion of some exceptional children from the schools to inclusion in a special class, to full participation in the life of the school takes on an aura of historical inevitability (see Chavez, Ch. 2). From an ethical perspective, mainstreaming can be argued to be a moral and humane approach (see Zand, Ch. 3). From the legislative and litigative point of view, mandatory special education laws and decisions and P.L. 94-142 guarantee the rights of exceptional children to an education in the least restrictive environment (see Raske, Ch. 4). In terms of the rights of consumers, the parents of exceptional children have been instrumental in bringing about mainstreaming (see Greenbaum & Markel, Ch. 6). These constitute just a few of the various approaches to "rationalizing" mainstreaming. Birch (1974) listed 11 "reasons for mainstreaming":

1. The capability to deliver special education anywhere has improved.
2. Parental concerns are being expressed more directly and forcefully.
3. The rejection of the labeling of children is growing.
4. Court actions have accelerated changes in special education procedures.
5. The fairness and accuracy of psychological testing have been questioned.
6. Too many children were classified psychometrically as mentally retarded.
7. Civil rights actions against segregation uncovered questionable special education placement practices.
8. Non-handicapped children are deprived if they are not allowed to associate with handicapped children.
9. The effectiveness of conventional special education was questioned.
10. Financial considerations foster mainstreaming.
11. American philosophical foundations encourage diversity in the same educational setting. (pp. 2-7)

It must be recognized that these 11 factors constitute Birch's perceptions of causal elements in the emergence of mainstreaming at this point in history. Some, we feel, are as yet unproven. For example, his contention that there is an increased capacity to deliver special services to exceptional children appears to be based on two premises: (a) that there are presently (or will soon be) a sufficient number of competently trained personnel, both regular and special educators, to effectively deliver services; and (b) that the technological potential of systems of individualization is such that their efficacy, general dissemination, and cost are not factors precluding their use.

There is one factor about which we express reservation: that financial considerations foster mainstreaming. The current availability of federal and state assistance for the development of mainstreaming is certainly an incentive. However, the implication that mainstreaming exceptional children will be less expensive than special class placement is misleading. It might be contended that a unified system should be less costly than the separate-but-equal arrangement. The report of the Project on Classification of Exceptional Children commented that "mainstreaming will not work without formal structural arrangements, including special staffing, and that it will not save money" (Hobbs, 1975, p. 252).

A number of the factors listed are discussed elsewhere in this volume. The two "reasons" that we advance here are rejection of labeling and the effectiveness of the special class.

During the early 1960s, it became apparent that sociologists had been ignoring an important aspect of deviance. The societal reactions perspective (often described as labeling theory, interactionalism, or the social control orientation) forced attention to the relationships among rule makers, rule enforcers, and rule breakers. Taken together with the reactions of individuals to people identified as deviant, the perspective led to recognition of the stigmatization inherent in identifying children as exceptional. Although research substantiating this effect is equivocal, the very idea that identifying the children we wish to help could be detrimental to their well-being has had a profound effect on the educational community. This perspective caused us to reconsider the ways in which we identify children who need assistance and the means by which this assistance is given.

The societal reactions perspective raised questions about the viability of the special class concept and the processes through which identification occurred. Yet the perspective did little to help us resolve the classification dilemma. We know that there are children who, for whatever reason, need assistance. However, they must be identified before assistance can be given--and identification may result in stigmatization.

The special class model was fostered by 'either-or' logic. Once we accept the premise that a child is either normal or exceptional, separate interventions, teachers, classes, administrations, professional preparation programs and teacher educators naturally follow. Mainstreaming challenges this logic. The gross categorical distinction between normal and exceptional children has little educational value for either the needs of the individual child or the teacher of that child.

Abandonment of these categorical distinctions foreshadows a more humane and less depersonalized educational system, one that views each child as unique, both amazingly similar to and wonderfully different from other children; an educational system more like an ecologically balanced garden than an economically efficient assembly line; and a system that places a premium on individual growth and harmonious interactions, not on standardized production.

The mainstreaming movement argues for neither the elimination of identification processes nor the "sink-or-swim" approach that would result from dissolution of special education. It advocates psychoeducational diagnosis that focuses on determining the child's needs, rather than categorical discriminations that have little relation to the educative process. What good does it do to know that a child is emotionally impaired or mentally retarded? Would it not be to the advantage of the child and the teacher to know that he needs to learn vowel sounds in reading and the concept of numbers in arithmetic, that he needs to internalize controls and increase his self-concept in working through his life-space problems? Once teachers are aware of the child's psychoeducational needs, they can provide assistance in areas in which they are competent and obtain the services of specialists in areas in which they are not.

Psychoeducational diagnosis is an approach with obvious merit. In the learning disabilities area, for example, it has served for years as the basis for intervention. Cruickshank (1974) has noted that "integration is no more the answer to the educational problems of exceptional children than has been the fundamentally inadequate program of special education of the past century" (p. 70).
He pointed out that,

> Quality special education is going to be hard to come by, but less than this is morally, if not legally, intolerable now and in the future....Quality special education must be founded on honest and accurate psychoeducational diagnosis and pupil evaluation. Further need not be said on this matter save to state unequivocally that the problem or its solution starts at this point. (p. 71)

Quality special education is a goal of mainstreaming, that is, a hoped-for consequence of an administrative arrangement. The movement holds forth the prospect that the convenience-centered categorical discriminations of the past will be replaced by child-centered psychoeducational diagnosis.

Fortunately, financial arrangements are now being considered that will divorce reimbursement for services to children from the formal classification of the child as deviant.

> Reimbursement systems are now being developed in several states making possible the financial support of special education programs without the usual close tie to the labeling process. When associated with the basic trend toward individualization of instruction, this flexibility will allow many more handicapped children to participate in the regular school program. (Martin, 1972, p. 229)

One of the deficiencies of the special class was that because of reimbursement constraints a child could not be offered additional assistance without first being diagnosed as exceptional. We often found ourselves in the position of being unable to help a child until his/her problem reached critical severity.

The societal reactions perspective of deviance underscored the deficiencies in the identification process and questioned our right to burden children with the stigma associated with special class placement. If the proponents of the special class had demonstrated unequivocally that this arrangement was justifiable, we doubt that a mainstreaming movement per se would ever have been considered. It is not that the special class precluded integration. For example, in a national survey of teachers of the emotionally disturbed conducted over a decade ago, Morse, Cutler, and Fink (1964) found that one-third of the teachers were integrating children on at least a part-time basis. The impetus to propose a distinctive alternative to the special class derives from the inability of special education to demonstrate conclusively that special classes were more effective than regular class placements.

Concurrent with the development of the special class, research was begun to assess its effectiveness. Since the rights of exceptional children were neither guaranteed by law nor encouraged by public opinion, it was hoped that research would substantiate inclusion of special classes in the schools. Belief in the special class approached the intensity of doctrine. Its justification awaited only the revelations of research.

By the early 1960s special classes had attained nearly universal acceptance as a means for educating exceptional children. In 1962, Johnson examined the research on the efficacy of special classes. He commented,

> It is indeed paradoxical that mentally handicapped children having teachers especially trained, having more money (per capita) spent on their education and being enrolled in classes with fewer children and a program designed to provide for their unique needs should be accomplishing the objectives of their education at the same or at a lower level than similarly mentally handicapped children who have not had these advantages and have been forced to remain in the regular grades. (p. 66)

When Dunn (1968) examined the available research, he concluded that,

> the overwhelming evidence is that our present and past practices have their major justification in removing pressures on regular teachers and pupils, at the expense of the socioculturally deprived slow learning pupils themselves. (p.8)

Filler et al. (1975) examined current research on this question.

> studies of the efficacy of special class placement suggest that the educable retarded child does at least as well academically if allowed to remain in the regular class. The humanitarian's plea that the retarded child's social and personal adjustment will be better if he is placed in a special class without frustrating pressure also has not been empirically validated. (p. 209)

The efficacy research on other disability areas was no more encouraging. We do not suggest that the special class was proven to be ineffective. Rather, the studies were unable to demonstrate effectiveness. Lilly (1970) spoke to the heart of the matter: "they are inconclusive to date. It must be added, however, that in the true spirit of research, they will be inconclusive forever" (p. 43-44).

The efficacy research has been subjected to severe scrutiny over the years. Whether it is methodologically sound is a moot question. The issue is not the inadequacy of research techniques and strategies. Indeed, we have found in our review of the research on the efficacy of mainstreaming that these few studies are also inconclusive to date. There is little reason to expect that a decade more of research will conclusively demonstrate the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the mainstreaming model.

Research facilitates clarification of the issues and provides necessary information for decision making. However, the complexity of the mainstreaming concept precludes resolution of the efficacy issue through research. Even were it resolvable, educators cannot afford to adopt a "wait-and-see" posture. We agree with Cruickshank (1974) that,

> Unfortunately, the issues must be discussed essentially from theoretical and philosophical points of view. There is no definite research on either side of the argument and indeed none may be possible due to the infinite number of uncontrollable variables. (p. 67)

But we also agree with Chaffin (1974) that although the present mainstreaming programs do not offer proof that they are an improvement over traditional delivery sysems, they are certainly no worse and hold the promise of much more. (p. 17)

Leaders in the educational community are responsible for examing the mainstreaming concept theoretically and philosophically; as pragmatists who daily face the realities of schooling, their responsibility is fulfilled when these conclusions are translated into actions that benefit children and teachers.

Issues

The first reality which must be faced is that mainstreaming engenders resistance. For years we preached the doctrine of the special class. We culled from the ranks of children those who had difficulties in school and those who were excluded from the schools. We called them "exceptional" in reaction to the once-current "idiot," "moron," and "crazy." We cared, and in our caring, we offered the parents and teachers of these children our dream--a SPECIAL education for their children. We trained an elite corps of specialists and inculcated our faith in the future of these children. They went forth to proselytize, and the ranks of those who cared grew legion. We organized; we lobbied; we demanded the rights due to those for whom we cared. And we secured them. And we believed in the special class. Indeed, special education was the special class. Should we now be surprised that children, parents, and teachers are confused when informed that exceptional children may be better off in the mainstream?

We cannot help but wonder at the wisdom of representing mainstreaming as an alternative. As we understand mainstreaming, it is not a novel notion. What is novel about providing each child with the best education possible? We already know that some children develop best in classrooms with their peers, others with individualized tutoring or small-group instruction, and others with some other balance of the manifold instructional options available in the education community. The helping teacher model, a core concept in mainstreaming, was developed by Morse (1962) in the late 1950s and was actually implemented in public schools in 1961--15 years ago! Ten years ago, in a Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped policy statement to the education committee of the House of Representatives, Milazzo and Bigelow (1966) wrote, "our goal is to place the education of the handicapped squarely into the mainstream of American education" (p. 2). Mainstreaming is a consolidation of our knowledge and a reaffirmation of our faith in children: not a new alternative, but a continuation of our struggle to make education child centered.

Yet mainstreaming has been represented as an alternative. Children, parents, and teachers are confused. Out of misunderstanding grows fear: fear that special education will be eliminated, that special teachers will be fired, and that classroom teachers will be unable to cope; fear that mainstreaming means massive de-institutionalization, that exceptional children will be indiscriminantly cast into regular classes, and that children, exceptional and nonexceptional alike, will bear the burden of unplanned change.

Resistance to mainstreaming derives from more than misunderstanding (see Schoolmaster, Ch. 7). Mainstreaming calls for major revisions in the relation of special and general education. "The problem would be difficult enough for special education to make internal changes; however, the emerging designs for delivery of special education services are part of a refashioning of the total educational system and thus must involve the total educational system" (Meisgeier, 1974, p. 20).

The most obvious change is that classroom teachers are expected to be involved with exceptional children. Gone are the days when a child could be referred "whole cloth" to the special education teachers when (s)he had academic or socio-emotional difficulties. Special education teachers (called resource room teachers or, better yet, helping teachers, in the mainstreaming model) will continue to intervene directly with children. However, with the adoption of the psychoeducational perspective, intervention focuses on the educational needs of the child rather than on a categorical label, a label that all too often implies that the difficulties the child encounters reside within the child. The forums in which these interventions occur, as well as the length of the intervention period, are determined relative to the criterion: "What is best for this child?" If the child needs intensive one-to-one intervention in isolation from his peers, then the answer is the resource room. Conversely, if it is best for the child to be with classmates full time, but additional assistance is needed, then some mixture of resource room and classroom is indicated. As Deno (1972) asserted, "true integration requires more than bodily presence"

(p. 3). We may well hope that mainstreaming will bring to a deserved end the philosophy that the services available should determine the needs of a child.

The increased involvement of classroom teachers with the problems of children who were previously referred to special classes creates new demands on them and, consequently, resistance to mainstreaming. We believe that this resistance stems less from misunderstanding, fear of change, or personal laziness than from uncertainty about the adequacy and appropriateness of their skills in teaching atypical children. Morse (1971) discussed this aspect.

> Special pupils need help in the affective domain more often than others. They have problems in behavior control, moral development, values, self-esteem and social attitudes--areas in which most teachers feel least adequate....It is no wonder that some teachers tend to reject special children who present so much of a challenge in an area where their competence is low. (p. 67)

School systems that place exceptional children in regular classes without addressing the sources of teacher resistance are performing a disservice to teachers and children. Mainstreaming implies a process of integration, not inundation, a process that creates new but not unmanageable demands on teachers.

The problem of mismatches between a child's needs and a teacher's abilities is a complex one. Classroom teachers have always been able to meet some, it not most, of any child's needs. If the child has academic or socio-emotional needs not fulfilled by the classroom teacher, then the helping teacher meets those needs for which (s)he has competence and brings the child into contact with other interventionists qualified to resolve residual problems.

The helping teacher is the most important source of support for teachers and children. However, if classroom teachers have reason to doubt their ability to teach exceptional children, helping teachers too have reasonable doubts. There is little question that helping teachers are prepared to directly intervene with children. Years of training have enhanced their interventionist skills. For helping teachers, the issue of ability is raised in the two other areas of their role: As consultants with classroom teachers and as the liaison to other supportive services.

Sarason (1971), in his remarkable book The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, stated,

> Psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, reading specialists, and resource or roving teachers are only some of the personnel available to the classroom teacher. One of the major complaints teachers articulate about these specialists is that they define help in terms of what the teacher can do with the child. As one teacher put it, "I do not need someone to tell me what more I should or could do with the child. When I ask for help I am asking someone else to do something." (p. 157)

It becomes increasingly apparent that both classroom and helping teachers have needs which must be met. Inundation threatens both. If a program of progressive inclusion is to be constructed on the premise that helping teachers naturally have the skills which mainstreaming requires, it is doomed to failure. If these teachers are not provided with the assistance which they need, we may well find the helping teacher "reorganizing" the resource room to fit what (s)he knows best--the old self-contained special class!

In an earlier section, we voiced our belief that any conceptualization of mainstreaming should be amended to include the provision of supportive services to helping and classroom teachers. Inservice training should be a high-priority item in any such supportive system (see Morris & Cook, Ch. 8).

Some research has been conducted on the effects of inservice training for mainstreaming. These few studies give evidence that teachers become more optimistic about the success of integration (Yates, 1973), initiate innovations (Lombardi, 1972), alter their role perceptions and increase delivery of services to the handicapped (Martin, 1971), and increase their overall perceptions of their competence (Glass & Meckler, 1972; West & Konieczy, 1975). Inservice training has merit as an approach to increasing teacher knowledge and skills and influencing attitudes toward human variability. Its primary limitation is the degree of change possible, given the time available. No doubt inservice training can increase skill levels but it cannot reasonably be expected to substitute for years of special education training. We believe that inservice should be provided, but that it constitutes but a single facet in a comprehensive teacher support system.

A comprehensive system of support recognizes a commonality of purpose in the educational community: all members ultimately striving for the benefit of all children. Whether these members are located in the school, the school system, the university, or the surrounding district, they share this aim. The primary function of a university teacher training program, for example, is professional preparation, but the standard against which the effectiveness of a program is ultimately assessed is the degree to which it benefits children. Numerous examples of teacher and child supportive services are displayed in Figure 3. Each shares this common goal. Elsewhere, their interdependency is examined (West & Bates, Ch. 10). Here we reaffirm our belief that all members of the educational community should be child advocates.

Conclusion

There are problems in mainstreaming and there will be problems for years to come. As educators, we would distrust any innovation which claimed to be problem free; our field has suffered problem-free fads and panaceas before. We are cautious but optimistic about mainstreaming--optimistic because its intent is most laudable; cautious because we fear distortion of this intent by those who worship convenience, efficiency, and self-interest. Mainstreaming must remain a child-centered movement.

Charles Schulz, the creator of Peanuts, makes a habit of placing words of wisdom in the mouths of babes:

> Linus: Our teacher has an interesting theory. She says

teaching is like bowling. All you can do is roll the ball down the middle and hope you touch most of the students.

Charlie
Brown: She must be a terrible bowler! (March 30, 1976)

Part I

THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF MAINSTREAMING

CHAPTER 2

Historical Overview of Special Education in the United States

Irma M. Chaves

The history of special education in the United States falls into three distinct periods. The first extends from institutionalized treatment of the handicapped in the sixteenth century to about 1875, preceding public school involvement in the education of the handicapped. The second period extends to the beginning of World War II in 1941. This period saw the establishment of special classes and schools for exceptional children. The third period has two parts. From the end of World War II in 1945 to the mid-sixties, special services for such children grew tremendously. Then special classes for special children began to be questioned, resulting in the current interest in mainstreaming.

The Sixteenth Century to about 1875

Special education is fairly recent. Hewett (1974) pointed out that, from man's earliest beginnings, individuals who were different have been "destroyed, tortured, exoricised, sterilized, ignored, exiled, exploited, and even considered divine" (p. 9). Very few and largely inadequate institutional facilities for the handicapped were established before the sixteenth century. Special education for exceptional children is a recent phenomenon. As parents of exceptional children look back today on the history of educational neglect of the handicapped, they find it difficult to believe that the so-painfully won achievement of special classes is today under serious attack in the name of mainstreaming.

Careful and critical examination of the historical trends in the education of the handicapped permits a greater and more sympathetic understanding of the reasons for the controversy about mainstreaming today.

The institution was the prevalent form of treatment for exceptional persons prior to the nineteenth century. From the sixteenth century on, there was considerable growth in the number of institutions established to care for the mentally ill. (Previously, monasteries and prisons had been the principal keepers of the mentally handicapped). San Hipolito, built by Bernardino Alvares in Mexico, in 1566, was the first such institution established in the Americas. Its closest counterpart in what became the United States was the Pennsylvania Hospital, established by Benjamin Franklin in 1756. However, this hospital was not totally committed to the treatment of the mentally ill; the first asylum in the colonies exclusively devoted to the mentally ill was established in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1733. But these early institutions were little better than their predecessors, the penal institutions, and mental patients were treated more like animals than human beings (Coleman & Braen, 1972).

The eighteenth century stands out as a transitional period for the handicapped. An educational view toward the handicapped was encouraged by the teachings of Locke, who advocated sensory experience in learning (Pritchard, 1963). Diderot, in 1749, also claimed that the blind could benefit from education, and he promoted the idea that the blind could be taught to read by touch (Durant & Durant, 1965). The French Revoluation (1789) was also responsible for the emergence of a more hamanitarian view toward the handicapped. In 1792, Phillippe Pinel was made physician-in-chief of the Bicêtre and, later, the Salpêtriere, two prominent mental hospitals in Paris during this period. Pinel believed that the mentally ill were sick individuals who deserved humanitarian care (Zilboorg & Henry, 1941). The role of the special educator was also established at this time. Valentine Hauy established a school for the blind in France and used embossed print to teach them to read. He believed that the blind could profit from an education and therefore should be educated (Wallin, 1955).

America also felt the humanitarian views inspired by the French Revolution. Benjamin Rush, known as the father of American psychiatry and associated with the Pennsylvania Hospital, advocated better treatment of the mentally ill in 1783. However, his treatise, Medical Inquiries and Observation Upon Diseases of the Mind, published in 1812, was not totally devoid of the established beliefs in astrology, bloodletting, and purgatives (Coleman & Braen, 1972).

Although some progress had been made toward humanitarian card of the handicapped, humanitarianism was not a prevalent attitude at the close of the eighteenth century. A medical student, writing in 1796 at the New York hospital, noted that mental patients were kept in cells in the cellar of the hospital and that straight jackets and chains were not uncommon (Russell, 1941). By the close of the eighteenth century, more progress had been made for blind and deaf children than for physically or mentally handicapped children. The physically handicapped, retarded, and disturbed were still largely viewed as examples of divine displeasure. Furthermore, all forms of retardation were not noticeable at a time when few individuals could read and write. It was only when general education was widely accepted that the retarded stood out (Pritchard, 1963). The eighteenth century, then, was a time when humanitarian care and education began to emerge slowly; but fear, superstitition, and hostility were still prevalent. Much still needed to be done. But the stage was set for the emergence of special education in the nineteenth century (Hewett, 1974).

The nineteenth century has been viewed as a landmark in the history of special education. It was during this century that Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard, a physician in Paris, worked with the "wild boy" of Aveyron--a boy about 12 years of age who was found in 1799 in the forest of Aveyron in Southern France, where he had lived most of his life as a primitive forest creature (Hewett, 1974). Itard believed that the boy, whom he named Victor, had been abandoned at the age of 2 or 3 (Coleman & Braen, 1972). Victor's animal-like behavior, Itard felt, was due to deprivation of contact with other humans and, therefore, that human contact and intensive training would enable Victor to become normal. Having no precedent upon which to model a program of treatment for Victor, Itard developed his own, based on several principles: (a) that human contact is necessary for normal development; (b) that imitation is the learning force behind the education of the senses; and (c) that there exists in all human beings a continuous relation between needs and ideas so that mental capacities grow to meet the needs of the individual (Coleman & Braen, 1972). Itard worked with Victor for years to develop his senses, intellectual functions, and emotional faculties (Hewett, 1974).

Itard's methods have since had considerable influence on the education of exceptional children. Itard employed training materials to enable Victor to discriminate in the areas of touch, smell, and other senses. He employed language techniques, such as associating words with their objects. He also employed imitation and modeling as techniques to teach Victor desired social behaviors (Coleman & Braen, 1972). Itard's work was instrumental in promulgating the belief that education and training can alter behavior. Through the appropriate training procedures, Itard demonstrated that levels of functioning could be improved (Hewett, 1974).

Itard's work had an immediate impact on special education in the ninteenth century. It was instrumental, in the 1830s in stimulating the teaching of the retarded at the Bicêtre and the Salpêtriere (Doll, 1962). More important, it led to the accomplishments of Edouard Seguin, Itard's student, one of the most significant educators of the mentally deficient. His program of education focused on the physical, intellectual, and moral development of the child. Seguin emphasized the total person. Whereas Itard tended to view sensory experience as an end in itself, Seguin saw that sensory experience must be fused with mental processes. Seguin was successful in developing techniques and materials for teaching purposes, for example, music training to develop controlled behavior and matching techniques for symbol recognition (Talbot, 1967).

Seguin came to the United States in 1852 because of his dissatisfaction with the French government. Soon after, he became involved with programs for the mentally handicapped. In 1854, he saw the dedication of a school built expressly for the mentally handicapped. The New York Institution at Syracuse developed its program along the lines espoused by Seguin. Between 1854 and his death in 1880, Seguin worked constantly in behalf of mentally retarded children. Today's interest in the relation between sensory deprivation and human learning was first voiced by Seguin who felt that the maintenance of sensory stimulation is necessary for retarded individuals. Seguin's hope was that through proper and consistent training the retarded would become normal functioning human beings (Talbot, 1967).

In addition to the contributions of Itard and Seguin, other strides were made in the education of the handicapped during the nineteenth century. A young student in the Paris school for the blind, Louis Braille, developed in 1829 a system of communication for the blind from a military code. This code, which later became known as braille, was then referred to as sonography (Robbin, 1955). It was also at this time that society stopped considering handicapped children as the Almighty's judgments and, instead, began paying attention to their needs (Reynolds, 1975). Blind, physically handicapped, and mentally defective children had been abused by society. The need for their education could no longer be ignored (Pritchard, 1963).

A few individuals--Horace Mann, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Dorothea Dix--became the spokesmen for the retarded and socially maladjusted in the United States during the early nineteenth century. It was at this time too, in 1817, that Reverend Thomas Gallaudet began his program to educate the deaf in Connecticut. The years between 1817 and 1850 were filled with activities in behalf of handicapped children. Inspired by Mann, Howe, and Dix, schools for the blind, deaf, and mentally retarded were established. Perkins Institution was founded in 1829 and the Massachusetts School for the Blind in 1832 (Cruickshank, 1967).

Other major developments for the handicapped occurred during this era. In 1818, the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Connecticut, began to provide the first education for the feebleminded in America. The first school totally devoted to the feebleminded was opened in Barre, Massachusetts, in 1848 by H. B. Wilbur. Its immediate successor was established near Albany, New York, as an experiment by the state legislature (Heck, 1940). In 1846, due to the work of Howe, who was then a member of the Massachusetts State Legislature, the state of Massachusetts appropriated about $2500 per year for a three-year period for the education of retarded children: the first state-supported program for mentally retarded children in America. In 1851, the Massachusetts school for the feebleminded was founded. Within 15 years, several states in the Northeast and New England (Ohio, 1857; Connecticut, 1858; Pennsylvania, 1859; Kentucky, 1860; and Illinois, 1865) established programs for the education of the retarded (Hoffman, 1974). Even the fate of the mentally ill began to look brighter at this time. Charcot and Burnheim in France began to place much importance on the role of psychological factors and the inner life of the mental patient. This view enjoyed even greater prominence somewhat later through the contributions of Janet and Freud (Zilboorg & Henry, 1941).

The contributions of Dorothea Dix during the nineteenth century cannot be overlooked. She was a retired school teacher who, in 1841, began to teach female prisoners on Sundays. These interactions acquainted her with conditions prevalent in jails, almhouses, and asylums. In 1848, she wrote that she had seen

> more than 9000 idiots, epileptics and insane in the United States, destitute of appropriate care and protection... bound with galling chains, bowed beneath fetters and heavy, iron balls attached to drag chains, lacerated with ropes, scourged by rods and terrified beneath storms of cruel blows; now subject to jibes and scorn and torturing tricks; now abandoned to the most outrageous violations. (Zilboorg & Henry, 1941, pp. 583-584)

These findings inspired Dix to carry on a vigorous campaign between 1841 and 1881 that culminated in the raising of millions of dollars to build suitable hospitals for the mentally ill. She opened two large institutions in Canada and reformed the asylum system in Scotland. Her record of establishing 32 modern mental hospitals was an astonishing feat, considering that at that time ignorance and superstition pervaded the field of mental health (Coleman & Braen, 1972). She had to overcome the antiquated, ignorant, and callous public policy that permeated mental health. As Daniel Tuke of England then wrote, society was slow to treat and rehabilitate the mentally ill rather than shut them out (Zilboorg & Henry, 1941).

During the middle decade of the nineteenth century in America, however, educators felt that environmental factors such as adequate diet, health, training, and education could offset the detrimental influences that had resulted in retardation. Thus, education for the retarded took on a more optimistic note (Hoffman, 1974). As Deutsch (1949) observed, the institutions for the retarded tended to be educational and not custodial in nature. It was generally believed that the retarded could be restored to the general community through education.

Most institutions and state facilities for the socially maladjusted were situated in the country. The city was still viewed as corrupt, as the breeder of crimes and those who commit crimes--the socially deviant. This anti-urban sentiment, an ancient tradition, is part of the agrarian myth. American romantics strongly felt that the city produced delinquency and antisocial behavior (Hoffman, 1974; Letchworth, 1883). In his analysis of the agrarian myth, Hofstadter (1955) quoted a characteristic view of the city that was prevalent in the nineteenth century:

> the city crushes, enslaves, and ruins so many thousands of our young men who are insensibly made victims of dissipation, of reckless speculation, and of ultimate crime. (p. 33)

The populace believed, said Hofstadter, that youth who migrated from the country to the city were headed for vice and poverty. The first state educational facility for socially maladjusted youth was opened in 1846 in Westborough, Massachusetts, on the premise that country-style living and traditional family upbringing would achieve better results in reforming these children. As a result, subsequent institutions, even for the retarded, were modeled after the Westborough facility (Hoffman, 1974; Letchworth, 1876).

Although the need for education and training of the exceptional began to be recognized in the nineteenth century and institutional facilities for the handicapped were increasing in numbers, much yet had to be accomplished in terms of special education for all exceptional children. There were too few such facilities for the handicapped; the facilities available were located far from the mainstream of society and, therefore, were not easily accessible to the persons who needed them most. Located far away from populated centers, the institutional facilities were easily forgotten. As time passed, the kind and quality of the services that exceptional individuals received were poor. The country-style institutions and emphasis on family living began to give way to inadequate custodial care.

The period that followed, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to World War II, was not much better and, in some cases, progress in special education for the handicapped was hindered. Thus it appears that for centuries the exceptional were largely neglected, mistreated, or provided with inadequate or a minimum of care. Little that can be called education was provided for these children.

The Years 1875-1941

During this period, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, special education classes were established largely as a result of compulsory education. With the advent of compulsory education, children with handicaps were forced to attend school. Educators in the public schools, unable to handle the exceptional children arriving in record numbers and realizing that no special provisions were available for these youngsters, began a movement for the establishment of special classes. Special classes came about, then, not for humanitarian reasons but because exceptional children were unwanted in the regular public school classroom. Feelings against mainstreaming, that is, placing exceptional children in regular classrooms, were strong.

In light of the current controversy about mainstreaming, we need to consider why special classes were instituted in the first place. This period of history reveals the answer. It is relevant to the present situation in special education. Should exceptional children continue to be mainstreamed into regular classes, as at present, only to discover that these children are unwanted there? Or is our society now so different that we cannot justify comparisons and, therefore, can safely assume that the handicapped will be accepted and receive the most effective education in the regular classrooms of public schools? We can better arrive at answers to such questions after careful consideration of history.

As early as 1909, the feeling was expressed that special education classes came about largely because of the compulsory attendance laws (Bell, 1909). The end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries saw the spread of both compulsory education and special education classes throughout the United States

(Gossard, 1940; Hoffman, 1974). From the last quarter of the nineteenth century to World War II, the school took on the form that characterizes it today. The school became an integral part of American society; it was theoretically responsible for the Americanization of society, particularly of those immigrants who came to the United States in vast numbers during this immigration era (Curti, 1971; Hoffman, 1974).[1]

As early as 1753, Franklin had proposed that Americanization be an established policy of education. He conceived of education as a mechanism of societal control. Franklin said that the preservation "of our language and even of our government" was precarious unless English-controlled schools were established among the German people in America (Curti, 1971, p. 39). William T. Harris, who advocated compulsory elementary education in 1903, wrote that elementary education should be designed to provide the child with the tools "to appreciate the common stock of ideas and cultural values that governed the social organization and civilization of which he was a part" (Curti, 1971, p. 315). With the advent of the influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Americanization took on a special significance. The Commissioner of Education in 1870 wrote that with the influx of immigrants there was a greater tendency in America for the newcomers to be blamed for corruption; there was, therefore, support for assigning responsibility for Americanization to the schools (Curti, 1971).

The new immigrants congregated in self-contained neighborhoods in the cities trying to preserve their cultural heritages and customs. Their contrast with older Americans was marked. Reactions included those typified by Professor P. Cubberly of Stanford, a staunch supporter of Americanization of the immigrant; he believed that the immigrants did not possess the Anglo-Teutonic notions of law, order, and government which they and their children needed for proper assimilation (Cremin, 1961). As a result, teachers were delegated the responsibility of Americanizing the immigrants (Curti, 1971). The immigrants were perceived as a threat to American society and Americanization was America's response. It took the form of compulsory education. As Hoffman (1974) alleged,

> the huge influx of foreign-speaking immigrants with their children provoked a societal effort to maintain stability, which was a primary factor in the enactment and enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws....(p. 53)

By 1860, at least half of the nation's children were receiving some form of education. Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania already had elementary schools widely available and they were expanding their educational programs to include the secondary level. Between 1852 and 1918, all the states passed compulsory attendance laws. Mississippi was the last to pass such laws (Cremin, 1961). Until recently, Mississippi's population was more than 50 percent black, and the state has never attracted large numbers of Eastern or Southern European immigrants.

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[1] This discussion, like those it summarizes, is restricted to white Americans and immigrants.

It was also around this time that special education classes for the handicapped began to be established. Compulsory school attendance led to the development of special education classes. "Doubtless there is some relation," noted Gossard (1940), "between the fact that in 1853 Massachusetts passed a compulsory attendance school law and that in 1860 ungraded[2] classes were established in Boston" (p. 83). Study of the annual reports revealed that special classes were considered to be a response to problems raised by the new compulsory school attendance laws (Gossard, 1940). In 1909, the superintendent of Baltimore schools wrote,

> Under the operation of school attendance laws, instead of easily getting rid of dullards and laggards, as we too often formerly did, we are undertaking to hold them and teach them; and it is an easy problem to discover who they are, for they force themselves upon our attention. We cannot be ignorant of their presence. (Gossard, 1940, p. 16)

Similar views were expressed by Bell (1909).

Later, Hoffman (1974) noted this same relation between compulsory school attendance and the establishment of special classes. He stated that compulsory school attendance brought an increasing number of individuals into the schools which the regular classroom could not handle. Handicapped children who for "various reasons" had previously been eliminated from schools could no longer be disregarded (Cremin, 1961; Heck, 1940).

The beginning of special education thus had its roots in the nineteenth century. As Doll (1962) noted, many points of view concerning the education of exceptional children were expressed in one form or another during the nineteenth century. Between 1818 and 1894, residential schools for the mentally retarded and other handicapped individuals proliferated. State responsibility, both public and private, for the care of the mentally retarded appeared by 1890, and special classes for the mentally or socially deviant also began during the 1890s. Developmental concepts, individualization of instruction, and gainful employment for the mildly retarded were all considered during this period (Hewett, 1974).

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, growing pessimism began to shadow special education. Institutions founded to educate and treat their handicapped charges began to be more simply custodial. Katz (1968) believed that this transformation resulted from the bureaucratization of these facilities. As they expanded and grew, they began to be governed by wardens and assistants who were unable to maintain the warmth and family-style atmosphere that had characterized many of these institutions when they were smaller. It was also at this time that educators came to the realization that training retarded individuals was not going to result in their normalcy (Dunn, 1963).

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[2] The term "ungraded classes" was given to special classes at that time. Ungraded classes included some or all types of backward children (Gossard, 1940).

This pessimism was spurred particularly by the popularity of Darwinist thought. Henry H. Goddard, an advocate of Darwinist thought, had considerable impact on special education. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, he was a leading figure in special education. Goddard was considered to be a distinguished scientist, author, and teacher (Irvine, 1971). He espoused Spencer's view that the inferior members of society posed a threat to the welfare of the human race. Goddard's The Kallikak Family portrayed the feebleminded as a menace to society (Doll, 1962). He stated that a number of the ancestors of mentally defective individuals he had traced were criminals, prostitutes, and paupers. Because of this book, a wave of alarm concerning the mentally defective spread throughout the country (Hewett, 1974). The impact of these views on the mentally retarded and behaviorally deviant child was considerable. Professionals and laymen alike began to view these handicapped individuals with "repugnance and alarm rather than sympathy or benevolence" (Hoffman, 1974, p. 55). Furthermore, in the treatment and care of the handicapped, innate deficiences were emphasized.

Concurrently with these developments, residential facilities for the mentally retarded and behaviorally deviant continued to be established. By the 1870s, 10 more residential schools had been established for the deaf and blind. Up through 1920, every state or territory which was to become a state established some kind of residential facility for handicapped children (Cruickshank, 1967).

However, residential facilities did not altogether escape the pessimism of the day. Particularly after the Darwinist mood swept the country, these institutions, located miles outside the cities, were easily ignored (Cruickshank, 1967). Their quality and purpose deteriorated rapidly. The children placed in the facilities were far removed from their families; there was insufficient staff; the staff was inadequately trained; and the facilities were too small and too few to accommodate the numbers of handicapped children who needed them (Reynolds, 1975).

Although the residential facilities appeared less than inspiring at this time, the development of public day schools and classes looked more and more promising. Not only did compulsory school attendance laws lead to the establishment of public special classes and schools, but more handicapped children than ever before were to be found in the cities. As a result, parents and educators sought to keep their handicapped youth within their communities. This pressure occurred because of increases in local populations; large cities made it difficult for parents to visit their handicapped children; and following Goddard's contribution to the concept of individual differences, professionals in the field of exceptionality began to recognize the practicality and feasibility of homogeneous groupings which could be accomplished through the medium of special schools or classes. The concept of classification took hold, in particular, between 1920 and 1930 (Cruickshank, 1967).

The special classes were taught for the most part by teachers who had been trained in residential facilities. Gallaudet College began training teachers for the deaf in 1890 and the Vineland Training School in New Jersey began training teachers of retarded children in 1904 (Reynolds, 1975). In 1911, 222 cities reported having classes for backward and mentally defective children. By 1913, the number had risen to 248; by 1914, at least 300 cities of 10,000 population and greater had organized classes for subnormal children (Heck, 1940). In 1869 Boston was the first city to educate its own deaf; the Horace Mann School was organized. In 1875, Chicago did the same. In 1907, Wisconsin became the first state to pass a day school law for the deaf. In 1896, Chicago became the first city to establish a class for the blind (Heck, 1940).

Numerous other classes were established. The success of the program in Chicago encouraged other cities to follow suit. As a result, classes were organized in Cincinnati (1906), Milwaukee (1907), Cleveland, New York, and Racine, Wisconsin (1909); 22 cities reported such classes by 1926-27. As early as 1876, Cleveland had a school for incorrigibles; 16 years later, in 1892, Chicago reported having a class for delinquents. Classes of this nature were begun in Providence (1893), New York (1895), Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and Newark, New Jersey (1898). By 1937, 45 cities reported having classes for such pupils (Heck, 1940). Provisions for crippled children were made much later than for other handicapping conditions. It was not until after 1920 that programs were organized in the form of decentralized hospital-school facilities, diagnostic centers, and local clinics (Cruickshank, 1967).

Reynolds (1975) stated that the establishment of special classes in the public schools was very slow during the first half of the twentieth century; that those programs that were available served handicapped children for only a minimal number of years; that admissions criteria excluded many handicapped children; that such programs were merely tolerated; that the children and teachers assigned to these classes were often ostracized by the rest of the school; and that the labels used to classify these children soon took on derogatory overtones.

In programs for exceptional children, little real progress was made. Instead, progress seemed to be more in research and the development of educational principles for the handicapped. Dr. Maria Montessori, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, translated and modified the methods and materials discussed in Seguin's book, Idiocy and Its Treatment by the Physiological Method. She first applied her method to the mentally retarded. However, her work was not well received in the United States at this time because of the pessimism the country was experiencing about the mentally deficient. She extended her methods to normal children. It was this merger of special education with the mainstream of regular education which Seguin had promoted (Dunn, 1963). Alexander Graham Bell, with his invention of the telephone in the latter part of the nineteenth century, opened up new possibilities for the teaching of speech to the deaf. The hearing aid was developed; more emphasis was placed on sound in the teaching of speech; and oral methods of teaching the deaf were advanced (Kirk, 1972).

Research in the education of the handicapped progressed. W. E. Gernald, in 1894, developed programs for use with severe mental deficiencies that included specific schedules for self-help skills; the use of utensils; domestic work; rhythmic training; games; and outings. The concept of job analysis was first applied to the training of mental defectives by Buhl in 1928. His concept of curriculum was divided into curriculum, self-help, occupation, physical and mental achievement, and recreation; he further subdivided these categories into the respective activities and specific tasks required for accomplishing each. The first vocational program was initiated in 1882 by Stewart at the Kentucky Institution. In 1922, Vanuxem used individual and group discussion, promotion of esprit de corps, and competition to train adult retardates in greater responsibility. He claimed the growth of initiative, leadership, and self control as a result of his methods. The concept of differential placement was first suggested by Bancroft in 1901. She felt that those individuals with sensory and motor defects could best be educated in the public schools; those with an underdeveloped "faculty" could best receive restorative training in small schools; and those with innate deficiencies could best be trained in custodial institutions.

The concept of diagnostic teaching was first posited in New York by Farrel. She viewed mental deficiency in terms of physical and mental defects and advocated that teachers should first diagnose the learning defects and then apply the appropriate methods. Practical exercises for specific mental faculties were presented by Barbara S. Morgan in 1914. The concept of remedial education was advocated by Whipple in 1935 and Brueckner in 1931. A special education curriculum was put forth by Anderson in 1917. She outlined different goals for imbeciles and morons at three basic levels of instruction: kindergarten, departmental, trade. Functional analysis was approached by Werner and Strauss in 1930s. Their work gave rise to teaching methods for the brain-injured child based on an individual and analytical approach. Ingram's book in 1935, Education of the Slow-Learning Child, stressed the importance of learning and development. In planning a curriculum, Ingram emphasized physical, social, and emotional developmental levels for the child's experiences in home, school, and community. The program of educating the rural retarded was discussed by Gessell in his handbook to guide regular teachers in 1918 (Doll, 1967).

The impact of mental testing on the field of mental retardation was considerable. Mental testing, as pioneered by Binet and Simon, established a means by which intelligence could be evaluated for diagnostic, classification, and planning purposes. Terman's development of the intelligence quotient was used to determine the degree of mental retardation and to classify the retarded. Numerous tests followed the work pioneered by these men (Levinson, 1952).

The influence of Darwinist thought on the American mind was significant during this period; whatever progress was made in special education was overshadowed by the fear instilled in the populace by interpreters of Darwin and Spencer, such as Goddard and others. Although fear and superstition regarding the mentally defective had begun to be supplanted by understanding, education, and treatment, during this time when Darwinist thought was prominent, America regressed to the earlier position regarding the mentally defective. John Higham (1971) stated that by 1910, eugenicists had caught the public's attention. To the eugenicists, immigration raised biological questions. American psychiatrists were quite "disturbed at the number of hereditary mental defectives supposedly pouring into the country" (Higham, 1971, p. 151). The fear thus provoked cannot be underestimated. Johnstone (Bell, 1909) expressed this concern when he said that permanent custodial care for the feebleminded was imperative since it was transmissible from generation to generation. This feeling hindered the progress which had begun to be made in the education of the handicapped.

Still, special classes, once established, proliferated rapidly; they were recognized for their practicality in providing homogeneous groupings. Teacher-preparation programs for children assigned to homogeneous special classes were established and much work and effort were expended on methods and materials geared to the special child in the special class setting.

What the regular classroom was perceived as incapable of doing, the special class proved it could do better and more efficiently--educate the exceptional. The growth and success of special classes were curtailed only by the pessimism spurred by Darwinist thought. Had that factor together with the ensuing wars not been present, we can only imagine how much more advanced special education would be today. It was believed back then that special classes provided the best solution to the education of the handicapped. It remains to be seen whether the present movement toward mainstreaming will arrive at the same conclusion.

From World War II to the Present

FROM WORLD WAR II TO THE MID-1960s

Further progress in special education was delayed by the Depression and World War II (Hewett, 1974). However, by the end of the 1940s a number of states had organized programs in the public schools for handicapped children. Teacher-training programs were increasing in number. This upsurge really gained momentum during the late 1950s and the 1960s as the federal government intervened in the care and treatment of the handicapped and grants were provided to state and local school districts for the education of handicapped children (Reynolds, 1975). The demands of parents and parent groups, who believed in the viability of the special class, were being felt.

Funding provided an impetus for research in mental retardation. It resulted in renewed efforts in anatomical and biochemical research, research in sensory deprivation, renewed interest in the severely retarded, vocationally trainable, brain-injured, and increased cooperation among parents, the public professionals in exceptionality, and administrators (Hewett, 1974). A study reported in January 1948 revealed that in cities with a population of 25,000 and over, public schools were admitting handicapped children with IQs below 50. Because of parental pressure, educators who had at one time been opposed to educating exceptional children were now giving in (Wallin, 1958).

More than at any other time, this period saw the greatest advances in special education in the numbers of exceptional children served, numbers of programs established for handicapped children, and monies appropriated for funding programs, research, and teacher-training programs. It was during this period, noted Reynolds (1975), that programs for exceptional children were really built into the schools.

Although special programs declined during World War II, the actual numbers began increasing steadily after 1948: from 17,000 programs, to 213,000 programs (1958) to 390,000 programs (1963) (Farber, 1968). In 1948, Mackie (1965) reported that the population in special classes was 442,000; in 1963, the population was reported to be 1,666,000.

Much of this increase in number of children served can be attributed to parents. The year 1940 marked the beginning of parental action in behalf of exceptional children. Initially, parental groups worked slowly. Parental groups began with an advertisement in the New York Times: parents of a cerebral palsied child inquired whether other such parents would get in touch with them. This feeler eventually resulted in the formation of the New York State Cerebral Palsy Association (Cruickshank, 1967). Since then, a number of powerful organizations have been created throughout the United States to represent most areas of exceptionality. They have been instrumental in the establishment of programs and the passing of federal and state legislation. In addition, parental organizations and parents of minority group children have joined forces in seeking assistance to reduce the overrepresentation of minority children in classes for the mentally and behaviorally handicapped (Reynolds, 1975). Parental organizations have had their greatest impact on state legislatures, local school borads, and Congress. The national program of research (initiated in 1956) under the auspices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare came about because of parental group pressure (Cruickshank, 1967).

The recent expansion of services for the handicapped can largely be explained by recent federal legislation. Legislative acts, such as Kennedy's signing in 1963 of the Mental Retardation Facilities Act, which appropriated over $50 million for the education of the handicapped, the establishment of the Division of Handicapped Children and Youth under the Office of Education, the appropriation of $11 million during 1964-65 for scholarships and fellowships for prospective teachers, supervisors, college teachers, and researchers of the handicapped (Connor, 1964) have made it quite obvious that the role of federal legislation in the advancement of special education has been unsurpassed by any other single factor.

Much of the federal legislation for the handicapped was passed between 1957 and

1967. The Cooperative Research Act, P.L. 83-531, appropriated $675,000 for research on the mentally retarded; it was the first step by Congress toward aid for handicapped children since support for Gallaudet College in 1864. Several bills were passed to train professional personnel in the area of the handicapped (P.L. 85-926; P.L. 86-158; P.L. 88-164, Section 301; P.L. 89-105). Similar bills were passed which allocated funds for research on the education of the handicapped (P.L. 88-164, Section 302; P.L. 89-105). The Education of the Handicapped Act, P.L. 89-750, provided monies to states for pre-school, elementary, and secondary school children; it also set up the National Advisory Committee and Bureau of Education for the Handicapped. The Mental Retardation Amendments of the 1967 Act (P.L. 90-170), in addition to allocating funds for personnel, provided for research in the area of physical education and recreation for the handicapped.

Partly due to the impetus provided at the federal level, states began to initiate special education legislation also. Gilmore (1956) noted that after Montana enacted such a law in 1955, 48 other states followed suit, making provisions either in the form of advisory or financial state assistance. In 46 of these states such assistance meant some reimbursement for expenses incurred by the local school districts in providing education programs for the handicapped.

In 1955, the physically handicapped, the educable mentally handicapped, the trainable, and the socially or emotionally maladjusted were provided with educational programs in Illinois, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Washington, and West Virginia. Forty-eight states that year had some provisions for the physically handicapped; educable mentally retarded were provided with some care in 46 states; the trainable mentally retarded received some care in 19 states; and the socially or emotionally deviant had some provisions made for them in 15 states. As of 1956, 30 states had permissive legislation whereby the local school districts could initiate local special education programs then request financial or consultative assistance from the state. Mandatory legislation whereby the local districts were required to provide educational services for the handicapped existed in 13 states. A combination of permissive provisions and mandatory provisions existed in 5 states (Gilmore. 1956).

To keep up with the demand, institutions of higher education initiated and expanded programs to train teachers, professors, administrators, and researchers in special education. By 1949, 77 colleges and universities reported sequences of courses in special education. Within the next five-year period this figure had increased by 45 (Cruickshank, 1967). Scholl and Milazzo (1965) reported that in 1964 221 colleges and universities had requested financial assistance from the Office of Education for special education programs. Within one year this figure increased by 33. Connor (1964) indicated that teachers, professors, and supervisors in special education were in demand more than before. "One of the most important problems today," reported Cain (1964), "[is] manpower and professional training of teachers"

(p. 211). Researchers, to add to existing knowledge in special eduation and to study present curriculum and methodological approaches, were also in short supply (Connor, 1964).

Special education experienced its greatest growth during this time. Monies were increasingly available to meet the demands of the handicapped. However, it was apparent that programs and services for the handicapped were still needed. Because programs were insufficient in number to accommodate all the handicapped who needed them, handicapped children often floundered for years without attending special education programs. For some, institutions were the only facilities open to them. Programs for the multiply handicapped, pre-school-aged handicapped, autistic, and brain-injured were practically nonexistent. Improvements still were needed, too, in the quality of services. Programs varied from teacher to teacher, district to district, state to state. The number of existing programs for the handicapped in a state meant nothing in terms of the quality of services. Often they were poor. In the coming years, much still needed to be done if effective special education for all the handicapped was to be realized.

It was apparent, though, that the discontent felt then was due not to the quality of the special classes but to the lack of a sufficient number of such classes. Parents in particular worked for the coninued establishment of such classes.

THE MID-1960s TO THE PRESENT

The present trend in special education is toward doing away with the special class and mainstreaming exceptional children in regular classrooms. As already indicated, however, the mainstreaming of exceptional children was attempted before but failed. What justification is there for returning to mainstreaming? Perhaps special classes have not had sufficient opportunity to prove themselves. As the historical literature demonstrates (see previous section), monies for research on special education are relatively recent. Furthermore, there is as yet no substantial evidence to indicate that mainstreaming is the answer. No wonder there is so much concern over the abolition of special classes!

Beginning in the mid-1960s, special education underwent a radical transformation. Just a few years before, special education schools and classes were enjoying a new popularity. But, sparked by Dunn's article in 1968, growing disenchantment with special education was apparent by the last of the 1960s. Nelson and Schmidt (1971) stated that Dunn's article was responsible for splitting the ranks of special educators. In his article, Dunn (1968) remarked that special education practices as they existed were wrong.

> We have been generally ill-prepared and ineffective in educating these children. Let us stop being pressured into continuing and expanding a special education program that we know now to be undesirable for many of the children we are dedicated to serve. (p. 5)

Immediately after Dunn challenged special schools and special classes, a proliferation of supportive articles appeared in the literature. Lilly (1970) reported that programs for the handicapped suffered deficiencies in logic as well as product. Efficacy studies, he added, provided us with little valuable information on exigent deficiencies.

Concern regarding special education had been simmering within the past decade. There were beginning to be reports that retarded children in special classes did more poorly in physical, personal, and academic areas when compared with retarded children in regular classes. Blatt (1960) for example, found few significant differences between handicapped children in special classes and those in regular classes. Efficacy studies, reported Lilly, indicated that special education programs are not much better than regular classrooms. He called for the abolition of special classes for all except the most severely impaired.

As a result of growing disenchantment with special education, a shift in emphasis in special education has occurred. The emphasis is now on mainstreaming (Reynolds, 1975). This trend is the most pervasive movement in special education today. Institutions, special schools, and special classes are returning their handicapped children to the regular classroom. The concepts of resource room and resource teaching currently fill the literature. Gickling and Theobald (1975) stated that regular classroom teachers are being forced to mainstream at an unprecedented rate. Mainstreaming is perceived as the solution to the problems of the exceptional child

The journal articles critical of mainstreaming (e.g., Kolstoe, 1972), do not seem to have slowed down the mainstreaming movement. Even those which have offered alternatives (Christopolos & Renz, 1969; Dunn, 1968; Johnson, 1962; and Lilly, 1970) have been largely ignored on the basis that they have few data to support their convictions (Gickling & Theobald, 1975). Reynolds (1975) believed that mainstreaming is receiving popular attention because of the decline in population growth, the current movement to do away with stigmatic labels, the awareness of the great amount of money needed to run special education programs, and the joint strength of parents and minority groups.

In spite of the momentum which mainstreaming has attained, controversy still persists. MacMillan (1971) felt that to abolish special classes totally in favor of mainstreaming would be premature. Deciding upon the most efficacious arrangement for exceptional children is complex; evidence needs to be re-evaluated (MacMillan, 1971). Christopolos and Renz (1969) felt that to continue special classes is unjustified. But they also noted that evidence pertaining to regular students who have experienced mainstreaming is inconclusive. Hammons (1972) believed that more study of the matter, not abolition, is needed. The real concern of Johnson, Balow, Reynolds, Lucas, and MacMillan is for the best route educationally for the exceptional child (Hammons, 1972).

Special education is undergoing an evolutionary process; it should take this opportunity to explore needed changes and to seek long-range solutions (Hammons, 1972). Valletutti (1969) sized up the situation well:

> Segregation or integration is not the critical issue.... Segregation without a program is just as destructive as integration without understanding. Returning to an educational system which ignores the premise and possibility of the special class would disregard the imperatives of educational history, which have mandated an alternative to wide range heterogeneity. (pp. 407-408)

So where has special education gone since its inception? Since the seventeenth century, handicapped individuals have been through an ordeal. In the beginning, only institutional facilities were available to them, ill prepared to handle their needs. With the advent of compulsory public education, the handicapped began attending the public schools where they could no longer be ignored. The public schools, believing that they could not handle the needs of these special individuals, argued for the organization of the special class. Special classes floundered for years on inadequate funds and ill-prepared teachers. As the special class began to enjoy popularity and increased support, it too began to be chastised. Presently handicapped children are being placed back in regular classrooms in record numbers. Mainstreaming has gone very far, very fast. It is doubtful that, in the throes of this current crisis in special education, exceptional children today are receiving the most effective education that is due them after so many years. It remains to be seen whether mainstreaming is the final answer.

CHAPTER 3

American Attitudes Toward Handicapped Children

Charlene Rooth Zand

The ultimate democratic attitude toward children is mainstreaming. Mainstreaming recognizes that all children are individuals; that their differences vary from a lesser to a greater degree; that all children should be accepted as individuals worthy of positive personal and group attitudes among and interactions with their school systems, teachers, and peers; and that all children are entitled to the highest standards and widest range of opportunities in instruction, which is geared to enhance their cognitive, emotional, physical, and social maturation, allowing them to participate in their communities. Because of its moral and humane values, mainstreaming demands an honest appraisal of our personal and group attitudes toward all children, handicapped and nonhandicapped.

This chapter highlights and describes some of the attitudes toward handicapped children that have appeared in the literature. In the first section, some observations are offered about the effects of nomenclature on social judgment, especially as labeling creates expectations for and of exceptional children. The next section presents an historical perspective, concentrating on the United States. This review demonstrates, not surprisingly, that our present attitudes toward handicapped children have been shaped by the cultural forces at work during our historical development. Particular emphasis has been placed on the background and development of Puritanical doctrines and the Protestant ethic as they relate to individual differences. The literature has provided a rich background of opinions from prominent persons of the times who expounded on the origins and management of mental retardation and other disabilities. These opinions have been handed down to each succeeding generation, as part of our heritage, and remain influential today. Sampling these writings with their rich metaphors for and direct accusations of differences in human beings may allow us to view present attitudes with more objectivity and detachment.

The last section discusses contemporary attitudes toward youngsters with handicaps. In contrast with the enormous progress in public and group attitudes toward the problem, individual attitudes still appear to reflect the early stigmas attached to handicaps in the history of the United States. A possibility for change is presented. Finally, the choice of an educational career is seen as the distinguishing factor that obligates educators to demonstrate that their attitude is the democratic one of mainstreaming.

Nomenclature and Social Judgment

Judging other people is a continuous, routine, almost reflexive process within our daily lives. We judge people on the basis of their social interactions, intellectual status, and physical appearance, as well as by the various racial, religious, sexual, financial, occupational, and other group categories to which they belong. There are common beliefs about how people whould behave in their particular roles or categories. Businessmen are expected to act differently from carpenters, children are expected to act differently from adults, and teachers are expected to act differently from store clerks. Thus we arbitrarily assign a "social identity" to people on the basis of the group that they voluntarily or involuntarily belong to, and evaluate their behavior against their social identity (Scott, 1969, p. 16).

An individual who looks or behaves differently from most of the members of his specific group is stigmatized in our eyes; we view him disparagingly (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). We proceed to categorize such people as different, assign that category a descriptive name, a label, and display a negative attitude toward it, verbally and nonverbally. We exclude the people from our known, familiar, stable, homogeneous group. We talk about them negatively, gesture about them negatively, and place them at the low end of our expectations because of their relevant and nonrelevant abilities, as we feel their differences deserve. These differences have separated black from white people, women from men, handicapped from nonhandicapped people, and so on, on the premise that their particular stigma (assigned to them by the other group but regarded as intrinsic fact) has diminished all their abilities to perform as well as the other group. This attitude toward differences has been especially prevalent within education, and special education has led the way with its own endless lists of categories differentiating children, teachers, and specialists; categories label programs and even separate transportation facilities. The labels have succeeded in neither masking attitudes nor mitigating problems; on the contrary, they have produced problems of their own.

The labels "exceptional children," "special child," and "special education" have been substituted for such terms as idiotic, feeble-minded, crippled, mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, impaired, slow learner, disabled, exceptional, special deviant, variant, and the like, suggesting new, kindly attitudes toward handicaps. The feelings thus exhibited, as well as the ensuing actions for curriculum and legislation, were those of professionally oriented, humanitarian people who care about children. But the new labels do not really disguise the old either-or attitude: Either the child is "normal" and is accepted as a full member of that approved group, or he is "abnormal" and is not accepted by his peers, teachers, or parents, and he requires special methods of handling that exclude him from general participation in our school programming.

Indeed, even the term "exceptional child," which originally denoted a gifted child with superior abilities in one or more cognitive functions, illustrates some of our attitudes toward handicapped children. It has been taken over as a euphemism for handicapped children (Scriven, 1976, p. 63). But, "exceptional" and "gifted" children may also be referred to as "eggheads" and "book freaks" in the jargon of today's school children, illustrating the irony of conflicting attitudes among adults and children toward the same descriptive term applied uniformly to those who do not fit the norm.

Review of Historical Attitudes

The foundations of our present attitudes toward handicapped children, as for so much else, were laid with the arrival of the Puritans from England in the early seventeenth century. The Puritans--Dissenters in England--established the Massachusetts Bay Colony as "a due forme of Government--both civill and ecclesiaticall." The Puritans' emphasis on Christianity as they understood it as the cornerstone of their society was unqualified: They were very clear that they alone knew the exact truth as contained in the written word of God. Miller (1956) described their position as follows:

> In New England the fundamental law was the Bible. The magistrates were to have full power to rule men for the specific purposes to which the society was dedicated; but they as well as their subordinates were tied to the specific purposes, and could not go beyond the prescribed limits. The Bible was clear and definite on the form of the church, on the code of punishment of crimes and on the general purposes of social existence;...the social theory of Puritanism, based upon the law of God, was posited also upon the voluntary submission of the citizens. (p. 147)

The fundamental social convictions of Puritanism were that every man should have a calling and work hard at it, as well as have a right to his own property (Miller, 1953, p. 201)

With the publication in 1710 of Cotton Mather's Essays To Do Good, the moral tone for the colonists was prescribed. His program for the reformation of manners was most specific for children, servants, neighbors, ministers, schoolmasters, physicians, ladies, and lawyers (Miller, 1953). And, although there was no lack of publications on morality, theology, and even science during the eighteenth century, the prevailing attitude toward such inborn traits as mental retardation and idiocy was silence. The background of absolutism, individual work, private property rights, and manifestation of salvation through good words, goodness, must have made this subject which was difficult to reconcile with orthodox Christian theology, too painful for discussion.

In fact, Kanner (1967) commented on this anomaly at the eighth annual meeting of the American Association on Mental Deficiency in 1965:

> One has a right to wonder why the medical profession did not include mental deficiency in the scope of its interests until well into the eighteenth century. Historical research comes upon occasional references in theological texts, in anecdotal remarks by writers, in speculations by lexicographers about the origins of epithets applied to persons thus affected, or in the portraits by Velasquez of the "fools" kept by King Philip IV of Spain. But, search as you may, you will not find the slightest literary hint that ancient or medieval physicians regarded mental deficiency as part of their medical concern. Heinrich Laehr (1899) compiled in two volumes an unsurpassed bibliography of all publications between 1459 and 1799 pertaining to psychiatry, neurology and psychology. Among the many thousands of enumerated and sometimes annotated items there is not one allusion, however, faint, to mental deficiency. (p. 165-66)

It was not until 1899 that William I. Cole documented Thomas Hancocks' specific bequest in 1764 for the relief of idiots in Boston. His findings appeared in the original reports of the "Boston Finance Committee, Abstracts of the Returns from Overseers of the Poor," and of the Boston Insane Hospital. The selectmen rejected the sum, as they decided there "were too few [idiots] to justify special attention" (Handlin, 1970, p. 122). Thus, care of the mentally retarded was avoided by both the medical profession and town government, although an individual progressive American colonialist thoughtfully provided the financial means to begin the venture. Attitudes began to change after the American and French Revolutions; both--especially the latter-emphasized the rights of the individual. When Dr. John D. Fisher returned to Boston, in 1826, after studying medicine and visiting institutions for the blind in France, he talked with friends and, finally, called a meeting of interested persons on February 10, 1829, at the Exchange Coffee House. At the meeting were representatives from numerous areas of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts who were also attending the session of the Legislature. Listening to a description of European programs for the blind, the people in attendance voted for the establishment of a committee to study the steps needed to establish an institution for the blind. An immediate application to the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation resulted in a corporation known as "The New England Asylum for the Blind," later changed to the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. In 1831, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe was engaged to head the Asylum and, as part of his contract, he set off for Europe to study existing schools and procure one or two trained blind persons as assistant teachers (Farrell, 1962).

A new era in caretaking began in 1839. An "idiotic blind child, who was unable to walk was treated... and the child greatly improved in all respects" (Howe, 1852). This success led Dr. Howe and some of his friends to infer that "if so much could be done for idiots who were blind, still more could be done for those who were not blind" (Howe, 1852, p. 26). The Massachusetts Committee on Idiocy, set up in January 1846 recieved a letter from Dr. Howe, dated March 12, 1846, which "recommended prompt action on behalf of idiots, and pointed out how they could be benefitted" (Howe, 1852, p. 27). By October 1, 1848, the Experimental school for Teaching and Training Idiotic Children was in operation. Two years later the legislature doubled the appropriation and converted the Experimental School into the permanent Massachusetts School of Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth; Dr. Howe was appointed president of the corporation. The goals of the school were carefully stated:

> A common school, as usually conducted is a place for teaching only; a school for idiots should rather be an establishment of training. It should be a true gymnasium for body and mind. In it the health is carefully attended to, as the basis of the whole system. The senses are to be quickened and exercised. The muscular system is to be developed and trained to activity. (Howe, 1852, p. 16)

The moral philosophy of the president is explicit in the following paragraph:

> Idiots they are, and idiots most of them must remain, but they are human idiots, and if they continue to be wisely and kindly treated, will be happier and better than the poor drivelling wretches who are found in almost every town and village, who are butts for some, objects of terror and disgust to others, and who, when left a prey to their own blind instincts, sink lower and lower into brutishness. They do not, however, sink quite alone, for the chain of human sympathy ever holds, and as no man among us can rise into high excellence without lifting others upward, so no one can sink neglected into brutishness without dragging some others downward. (Howe, 1857, p. 8)

Thus, while the children who were considered different and undesirable were "cared for," this caretaking separated them from family and community, and provided "training" in personal care for good habits in contrast to "education" for normal youngsters. The effect was to take them out of the mainstream of education and family living. In the Ninth Annual Report of the Massachusetts School (1857), Dr. Howe explained the origins of mental retardation in accordance with the doctrine of original sin:

> Idiots are imperfectly formed human beings, have existed in all ages, of course, because man's physical condition has never yet obtained the fulness of its perfection. Their very existence implies sin against the natural laws; but the sin implies possible righteousness. Awakened consciousness of sin is the first step towards repentence--repentence to reform. A truly wise and good people, abiding by God's laws would beget no idiots. (p. 9)

The growth of the New England states and the development of facilities to serve the handicapped citizens of the Boston area presented many conflicting issues. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts was founded by English Puritans who were seeking religious freedom for themselves only. Their colony was governed by a rigid minority that excluded and punished other religious faiths. And, when the Puritan theocracy was ruled illegal, in 1692, the clergy still maintained unofficial but real power, "dictating an established chosen way of life" (Solomon, 1956, p. 2). By 1818, Catholics were able to form a regional diocese. But the descendants of the Puritans, now often enterprising merchants who had profited from the Revolution and a growing intellectual class, constituting what Oliver Wendell Holmes called the "Brahmin caste of New England," continued to dominate the area's values and attitudes. The test of the Brahmins' staying power was soon to come, however. Along with increasing wealth, the Industrial Revolution brought masses of immigrants escaping intolerable conditions in Europe. The Protestant ethic began to crumble as the problems began to intensify. Crowded housing conditions, poor sanitation, lack of jobs, and the trauma of moving from the Old World to the New brought severe emotional problems to the immigrants. The Brahmins began to call for restriction of immigration to the country to retain the aristocratic, elitist principles of the formerly small "Hub of the Universe" (Solomon, 1956, p. 5). Harvard College provided the intellectual atmosphere for some students to formulate their restrictionist aims, which ultimately resulted in the formation of the Immigration Restriction League of Boston in 1894 (Solomon, 1956, p. 102), and the Eugenics Record Office in 1910. This office studied hereditary factors in mental deficiency by the use of family histories. Thus, Social Darwinism was combined with an extension of Plato's ethics of eugenics. These were among the intellectual, social, and religious trends of the Promised Land at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In his 1905 message to Congress, guided by politics, President Roosevelt "echoed the League's emphasis on immigration of the 'right sort' and extended the list of undesirable aliens to the physically unfit, defective or degenerate" (Solomon, 1956, p. 196). The forces of purity were marshalled. In 1907, Roosevelt appointed a commission to study the immigration problem. In 1917, under Wilson, the United States Senate and House passed the literacy bill. In 1921, under Harding, the Johnson Act gave preference to immigrants from old Teutonic stock by the use of ethnic quotas. By 1924, in Coolidge's time, the Immigration Act fixed the 2 percent quota for each nation, based on the number of each country's immigrants in the United States in 1890. After 1929, when Hoover was President, a permanent quota of 150,000 immigrants per year was set, with quotas for each nation based on the 1920 census.

Solomon (1956), in her chronicles of Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition, stated:

> The intent was clear: to preserve the Teutonic composition of the American people in its present proportions so that the descendants of the foreign-born would never dominate the Yankees. (p. 205)

Thus, the United States, despite its image of providing a haven for the oppressed and opportunities for a new life, restricted immigration to diminish groups of people envisioned as leading the country into "pauperism, crime, sex offenses, and dependency" (Solomon, 1956, p. 204) due to inferior minds. (This entire discussion is, of course, itself restricted to the views of some white people of other kinds of white people. To review establishment attitudes toward non-whites is beyond this paper's scope.)

But in 1933 the United States inaugurated a new President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had been stricken with poliomyelitis and left with visibly nonfunctioning legs. His charismatic appeal to the country, following a well-maneuvered rise within the State of New York, came in a time of social disarray and economic depression. The voters felt a need for someone with a strong voice and a clear head to guide them to sweeping changes throughout the land. In addition, they secured a President who had acquired a proud Harvard accent in his speech, and whose wealthy, proper upbringing overshadowed his physical disability. What followed was his strong appeal to the immigrants and their families--a popularity that probably did much to elevate, in turn, more recent Americans than the Brahmins to positions of considerable influence. The change in background of the country's leaders meant a change in values, in attitudes, and the handicapped were to be among the beneficiaries.

In spite of the strong negative attitudes displayed throughout most of our country's history toward individual differences, which ranged from mild mental retardation, emotional disturbance, social maladjustment, and severe mental retardation through differing religions, races, and national origins, a number of steps were taken to provide greater equality of access to educational opportunity for handicapped persons.

Although mental retardation was recognized as a problem to be handled at the institutional and public school levels since the early nineteenth century, it remained in the background in deference to other handicaps. The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults was organized in 1921 "to foster public and to take private action throughout the country for the discovery, care, education, training, recreation and placement of physically handicapped" (The Crippled Child, 1949). Although the society did not exclude mental retardation and mental illness from its comprehensive bibliographies, it emphasized disabling conditions as cerebral palsy, aphasia, deafness, and orthopedic problems. The advent of World War II brought the disabled veteran to the forefront with the passage of the G.I. Bill for education, regardless of disability, in addition to comprehensive rehabilitation services, as enacted in Public Laws 16 and 113 of the 78th Congress (Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, 1947). The return of vast numbers of disabled veterans resulted in high visibility of various types of handicaps. They, coupled with the impact of television, made the nation more aware of disability, and of the range of disabling conditions from infancy through adulthood.

Celebrities of stage, screen, and radio were enlisted to appear at fund-raising events and soon they became associated with specific organizations. A superficial status was lent to the disabled by these promotions. In 1947, the Coordinating Council for Cerebral Palsy in New York City, Inc., was organized "as a voluntary, non-profit agency identified as the medical and professional clearing house relative to the multi-problems of cerebral palsy" (Coordinating Council for Cerebral Palsy in New York City, Inc., 1951). Soon, parent groups began to mobilize. The Spastic Club of Iowa was formed in 1943, and in 1949 the United Cerebral Palsy (UCP) Association was formed. By 1953, the Association supported research and training at universities throughout the country and provided information to parent groups. It also organized a subcommittee on problems of the mentally retarded (UCP, 1953). October 1950 saw the founding convention of the National Association for Retarded Children. This organization worked at both local and state levels with parents of children with mental retardation (Lippman & Goldberg, 1973).

In 1961, President Kennedy appointed the President's Panel on Mental Retardation; it charged the individual states to plan comprehensive rehabilitation services for the mentally retarded (Lippman & Goldberg, 1973). Using his sister as an example of a retarded individual needing help, President Kennedy projected respect for families with similar problems. But many groups felt that executive leadership, personal example, and committees were not enough. To insure their rights, they insisted on legal justification for equal access to educational opportunities for handicapped individuals. The 1970s has been termed "the era of litigation, of landmark court decisions and social actions" (Lippman & Goldberg, 1973).

Goldberg and Lippman (1974, p. 327) felt that "attitudes, expectations and even values are in a state of rapid change in the United States today." Assertion of rights by various groups of women, students, ethnic minorities, and physical and behavioral deviants is challenging older, traditional assumptions and procedures. For some groups that are unable to speak for their own needs, such as children and severely handicapped individuals, coalitions of parents, professional workers, and public interest lawyers have been formed. These coalitions are defined as

> super teams of organizations which have joined forces to bring about changes in attitudes, laws, programs and public understanding of the needs and aspirations of the handicapped. What they are about, basically, is practicing the art of effective citizenship, in practical, positive ways in order to give all handicapped people the opportunities they need to live as fully and productively as they can. (Closer Look, p. 6).

In summary, American attitudes toward people with handicaps appear to have progressed from the rigid silence of the Puritans, to the benevolent but limited caretaking initiated by the Boston Brahmins, to the acceptance of a visibly disabled President, to another President who openly discussed his sister's mental retardation. Now, in the mid-1970s, broad national and state policies for handicapped individuals have been proposed and enacted by Congress and state legislatures. Strong coalition groups of parents and professionals have brought the problems of handicapped children directly into the homes of the public by way of television, radio, newspapers, and door-to-door campaigns for funds and petition drives for equal public services (Closer Look, 1976). Parents are training for advocacy roles in evaluation conferences, using appeals procedures, and asserting their rights to funding and implementation of programs. The greatest strides have been made through successful lobbying for legislative changes and in public awareness of the multitude of problems that affect the handicapped child and his surrounding community.

Contemporary Attitudes

State policies, legislation, coalition groups, communication through the mass media, and public services do not deal directly with the handicapped child. While they are most important to his surrounding environment, they do not provide that central basic link, beautifully summed up by Max Lerner (1962) when he described as fundamental to his scheme of a viable human society, "the sense of belonging and solidarity--'the human connection'" (p. 249).

Educators are in a unique position to provide that human connection for handicapped children. The children spend most of their active waking hours in school and are exposed to the attitudes of the school personnel and peers. But the attitudes of teachers may not always be what is needed. Bergan and Smith (1966) reported that mentally retarded children of higher socio-economic levels were accepted more readily than mentally retarded children of lower socio-economic levels. Several studies indicate that special class teachers emphasize personal and social adjustment more than cognitive abilities (Fine, 1967; Schmidt & Nelson, 1969), which is reminiscent of Dr. Howe's goals. However, there is evidence that prospective general education teachers with an adequate knowledge of special education principles (Kingsley, 1967) and prospective special education teachers (Harth, 1971) are more ready to accept handicapped children, and teachers in special education, mentally retarded youngsters than teachers in general education (Efron & Efron, 1967). Changes in teachers' attitudes appear to be possible when there are inservice training courses that deal directly with their attitudes toward and understanding of handicapped children (Brooks & Bransford, 1971).

The effectiveness of such courses for teachers in changing their attitudes may be explained by Kelman's (1958) theory of the processes involved. He felt that knowing how an attitude was acquired is the key to knowing how to change it effectively. He explained three processes of attitudes: compliance, identification, and internalization. Compliance relates to the social effect of appearing to accept influence from another person or group. The person may not believe the content of the attitude, but he adopts the induced behavior because of specific rewards or approval, and the behavior may disappear when the influence is not there. Identification with an attitude occurs when an individual accepts influence because he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying relationship with another person or group. The change is directly related to the maintenance of a relationship. Internalization of an attitude occurs when the individual accepts the influence because the content of the specific behavior is rewarding, akin to his value system, valuable for the solution of a problem, or otherwise congenial to his needs.

Applying Kelman's theory, it may be that individuals comply or identify with a group, and that is how the group's effort becomes successful. Parents with disabled children join together to achieve goals and teachers join professional organizations that identify with positive goals for the handicapped. Yet, individually, they may not accept the person with a handicap, perhaps because of feelings of guilt, preconceived myths about mental retardation, and fear of ability to cope with the problems of handicaps. Still, several studies reviewed by Harth (1973) indicate that when teachers and medical personnel learn about handicapped people and their conditions they are more willing to accept the handicapped. Education about handicaps and the handicapped thus seems essential for Kelman's "internalization," that is, acceptance of handicaps, with a positive view of the handicapped as part of the person's value system.

The attitude of teachers toward handicapped children is basic to the success of mainstreaming. Just as handicapped children possess a social identity that results in certain expectations of their behavior and abilities, teachers also have a social identity. We expect teachers to demonstrate almost perfect attitudes and abilities, as if they were supernatural agents sent to deal with children. We assume they are...

--kind and warm to each child;

--accepting of all types of children; therefore,

--accepting of those children with problems;

--able to provide each child with all the skills he needs, within the area of their own professional competence;

--able to provide each student with a positive attitude toward self;

--able to provide a positive group attitude of warmth and acceptance toward those youngsters who vary significantly from the majority of youngsters in the class.

But, of course, teachers are only ordinary mortals, different from other people only in their profession. And for those of us in the profession who are in daily, direct, physical, social, and emotional interaction with handicapped children, that is a critical difference. We are the people whose attitudes reject or welcome the child as a person. The basic approach leading directly to the child is within our grasp, every day. How honestly we face this basic route is the most important question we have to answer. The question is really double pronged. It asks whether we can accept the principle of mainstreaming as a democratic attitude and whether we are willing to be part of the attitude and resultant process. If we accept the principle of mainstreaming, do we accept it for our classrooms and for our school building? Or do we agree "in principle" but feel strongly it should be for other teachers and other school buildings? Consider the handicapped child who is welcomed into a regular classroom, accepted by his teacher and peers, yet is rejected by another teacher at recess time, when he finds the courage to ask for help with his boot; is that "other teacher" ever one of us? If mainstreaming is to be successful, we have to concern ourselves with the feelings of teachers and "normal" children, with their personal and group attitudes. The challenge of mainstreaming begins with the honest appraisal of our attitudes toward all children. That may mean, as in the example above, that on occasion we may have to challenge a fellow teacher's attitudes toward some children. The price is not too steep for the privilege of belonging to the profession.

CHAPTER 4

Legislative and Litigative Factors In Mainstreaming

Mary Ann Raske

Educational journals, digests, and magazines have recently included numerous articles concerning the rights of handicapped children to appropriate education, placement, and treatment. Through the involvement of parents, professionals, and other consumer groups the public has been made cognizant of the handicapped child's legal right to equal opportunity to share in the rewards and risks of the real world and to develop to the fullest extent of his or her ability.

Legislative and litigative decisions have guaranteed these rights. The 1960s and 1970s have been referred to as the "years of the law" by Keogh and Levitt (1976). Since the late 1960s, a case log of over 50 law suits has reached the courts in defense of handicapped children's rights to education, treatment, and placement. This litigative pressure, in a major sense, is responsible for the unprecedented response at all levels of government toward meeting the needs of the handicapped individual. The recent enactment of the "Education of All Handicapped Children Act" (P.L. 94-142) and the increased appropriations by this legislation exemplify increased congressional involvement. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss legislative and litigative action prior to the passage of this law which focuses on the education of handicapped children within the mainstream of general education. Some of the major issues are highlighted under the following headings: (a) Current Issues; (b) State Mandatory Special Education Laws and Litigation; (c) Federal Laws and Litigation, and (d) Futures or "What's Upstream for Mainstreaming"?

Issues

The right-to-education movement is a little over five years old now and the fact that education is the right of all children has been established. In 1971, the commissioner of education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., called for a national goal to provide full educational opportunity for every handicapped child in the United States by 1980. Since then the right-to-education movement has continued to grow and gain force. Mainstreaming is integral to this movement and involves the educational placement of exceptional children "in the least restrictive environment" in which their educational and related needs can be satisfactorily provided (CEC, 1976).

The frequently used clause appears to have originated with litigation concerning the rights of institutionalized handicapped adults and children. In Wyatt V. Aderholt,[1] the court held that every mentally retarded person has a right to the "least restrictive setting" necessary for habilitation. Within the current case log, the degree to which the "least restrictive environment" clause actually provides access or entrance into the mainstream of general education varies with the interpretations by the courts and individual school districts involved. The special education suits brought about in the early 1970s, which included the "least restrictive environment" clause (Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia), quite contradictorily ended in programing that was most often segregated in reality.

State Mandatory Laws and Litigation

Public education, historically and legally, has been controlled by the individual states through their constitutions and compulsory attendance laws. Currently, 49 states have compulsory attendance laws that define both the children who must attend school and the children who may be excluded from school. Many of the states had allowed for the exclusion from public education in their compulsory attendance laws of children who did not meet intellectual, social, behavioral, and/or physical requirements.

For example, the laws of Nevada permit exclusion whenever a child's "physical or mental condition or attitude is such as to prevent or render inadvisable his attendance at school" (Nev. Rev. Stat. Sec. 392-050, 1967). In other words "compulsory attendance laws in the past in most states have operated as non-attendance laws for the handicapped" (Weintraub, Abeson & Braddock, 1972). The legality of denying a free public education to handicapped children through this type of exclusion, segregation, postponement, or any other means was challenged in the courts as early as 1969.

Often overlooked and not generally considered a "landmark" decision was the judgement in Fred G. Wolfe, et al., v. the Legislature of the State of Utah. Judge Wilkens, rendering a decision on the admission of two trainable mentally impaired children into the regular school system, found for the plaintiffs; he pointed out that in his judgement "education today is probably the most important function of state and local government. It is an inalienable right and must be so if the rights guaranteed to an individual under Utah's constitution and the United States constitution are to have any real meaning" (HEW, 1974). He further stated that the rights of assembly, free speech, or freedom to participate in one's own religion could be meaningless if one were denied an education. The judge then issued an order requiring mandatory education for all children in the State of Utah.

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[1] Known as Wyatt v. Stickney prior to appeal

As of this writing, 36 states are under judicial or legislative injunction to provide zero-rejection education and appropriate programing in the most integrated setting. A recent NEA survey showed that at least 22 states have laws or regulations that require handicapped children to be in the regular classroom at least part-time.

A number of the states have made policy statements concerning placement and programing in the least restrictive environment. The following are examples of such policy statements:

> Arizona - To the extent practicable, handicapped children shall be educated in the regular classes. Special classes, separate schooling or other removal of handicapped children from the regular educational environment shall occur only if, and to the extent that the nature or severity of the handicap is such that use of supplementary aids and services, cannot be accomplished satisfactorily. (Bolick, 1974, p. 3-1)
>
> Missouri - To the maximum extent practicable, handicapped and severely handicapped children shall be educated along with children who do not have handicaps and shall attend regular classes. Impediments to learning and to the normal functioning of such children in the regular school environment shall be overcome whenever practicable by the provision of special aids and services rather than by separate schooling for the handicapped. (Bolick, 1974, p. 25-1)

Forty-eight of the states have mandatory laws requiring education for some or all handicapped children; in 19, laws contain statutory dates of compliance, 13 of which are presently in effect.

The issue of effectiveness must be raised and the degree of compliance with these judicial and legislative rulings must be questioned. The failure of the courts and legislatures to provide necessary and adequate funding along with their mandates has, in many cases, resulted in noncompliance at a time when spending in all areas of education is being reduced.

In special education, the landmark court decisions preceded and paralleled mandatory special education acts as they surfaced in the early 1970s. These lawsuits, for the most part, were initiated by the parents of handicapped children.

John Dewey noted over a half century ago that genuine equality of educational opportunity is absolutely incommensurate with equal treatment, because people differ from one another in many significant ways. Dewey remarked, "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child that must the community want for all its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unloving; unless acted upon, it destroys our democracy" (Quoted by Weintraub et al., 1972). Dewey's statement brings to the foreground yet another obstacle to be overcome by the people involved in educating handicapped children within the mainstream of education. Mainstreaming is a belief but, more important, it is an attitude, one that encompasses the central theme that all children share "equally" in their right to an appropriate education. The absence of this "attitude" has been a major stumbling block for handicapped persons in pursuit of acquiring their rights. If administrators, educators, and school boards had recognized these rights, litigation would have been nonexistent.

In a landmark suit in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania by *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Civil Action No. 71-42, 1972), the plaintiff, on behalf of 13 mentally retarded children, contended that denial of educational services deprived these children of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The children, who reside in the state's institution for the retarded, had received no educational services. It is important to note that many of these children were also denied educational services by their local school districts prior to institutionalization. The plaintiff had introduced evidence indicating that the authority for organizing and supervising classes in the state's institutions is under the jurisdiction of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction to provide educational programs for all mentally retarded children up to age 21.

Directly related to mainstreaming is the following principle:

> Placement in a regular public school is preferable to placement in a special public school class is preferable to placement in any other type of program of education and training. (DHEW pub. 76-21012)

This statement of intent now is found in the majority of the right to education, treatment, and placement cases.

The June 1971 order stipulated that by October 1971 (four months later) the plaintiff children were to have been evaluated and placed in programs. The order further stated that by September 1972 all the retarded children between the ages of 6 and 21 were to be provided a public supported education.

It appears that even though the figures are impressive, the overall effectiveness of such litigation is questionable. It is not my intent to de-emphasize the total impact of the courts in shaping education in the United States. However, legal decisions do not necessarily ensure the development of quality programs and optimal placement and programing. The courts can only go so far in protecting the rights of handicapped students. The final decision is left most often to the discretion of the local school district that interprets the law and implements the programing.

The first court decision explicitly stating that handicapped children have a constitutional right to public education and due process was *Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia*. The plaintiffs were seven children with varying handicapping disabilities. The District of Columbia Board of Education, the Department of Human Resources, and the mayor were defendants. It was alleged that exclusion procedures violated due process requirements of the Fifth Amendment and the children involved were denied equal educational opportunity. It was further alleged that the Board of Education had an opportunity to provide services for the plaintiffs but did not do so. A court order guarantee of the plaintiffs' right to an appropriate and equal educational opportunity was sought. On December 20, 1971, the court ordered the educational placement of the plaintiffs by January 3, 1972, and the identification of all handicapped children in the District of Columbia. The defendants claimed noncompliance because of a lack of funds, but the courts ruled that insufficient funds were no excuse for not providing service, and program plans were required within 20 days of the judges' decision. In December 1973, there was a motion for compliance with the decree because of the alleged failure of the schools to provide funds for the tuition grants ordered by the hearing officers. A request also was made at this time for a master to oversee the implementation of the order which, at that time, was alleged to be floundering because of lack of sufficient funding.

The question again arises whether the development of a comprehensive plan for the education of handicapped children, patients, and others is the type of problem that can be resolved by the issuance of a court order, no matter how well meaning or intended.

The case log has continued to grow and further judicial orders for "placement in regular public school classes with appropriate support services," as in Lebanks v. Spears, Civil Action No. 71-2987 (E.C. La. April 1973), will surface. Without the accompanying attitudinal changes, training of qualified personnel to develop this specialized type of programing, and appropriation of sufficient funding, we will not make the progress necessary to achieve true equality in education for the handicapped in the least restrictive environment.

Federal Litigation and Legislation

The United States Constitution avoids the topic of education. However, the established precedent is that any form of segregation or labeling is contrary to our constitutional tradition. In a supreme court ruling of San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez (1973), a decision was rendered that education is not a fundamental interest guaranteed by the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution. However, it did not rule out that failure to provide adequate education for all children violates the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment (Rodriguez, 411 U.S. 1, 30-35). In a more recent decision, the Supreme Court, in the first of the right-to-treatment cases to reach that level, upheld a damage award against the superintendent of a Florida mental institution in O'Connor v. Donaldson, June 26, 1975. The court ruled that the institution had failed to return to the community a man who was neither dangerous to himself or others.

Treatment and education of handicapped persons has traditionally taken place in a segregated environment. This type of setting invariably has been unequal and has hindered the handicapped persons from realizing their rights. Ironically, many "special educators" have been guilty of sanctioning and perpetuating this practice because of the traditional orientation of pre-service training. Procedural safeguards in P.L. 94-142 require that handicapped children be educated in the "least restrictive environment." Prior to this law major federal direction to change education for the handicapped took place with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This piece of legislation recognized the need for additional help for handicapped pupils and special education became a major target for change. Amendments to this law on November 3, 1966, established the National Advisory Council on Handicapped Children. The Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped was also mandated through this legislation.

The Developmental Disabilities Act, which went into effect October, 30, 1970, emphasized the federal government's efforts to provide a better life for the developmentally disabled, to provide for better and quicker services by transferring power to those persons directly involved with providing service at the state and local levels.

The Education of the Handicapped Amendment of 1974 increased financial assistance, conditional upon each state's submitting a plan that included a method for the identification of handicapped children currently not receiving services and, also, those currently receiving services. A goal of providing full educational opportunity to all handicapped children was established.

On November 29, 1975, President Ford signed into law the "Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975" (P.L. 94-142). This piece of legislation reflected a national level of concern for the estimated one million handicapped children presently excluded from the educational process and the seven additional million who receive inadequate and inappropriate services. The legislation recognizes that the state and local educational agencies have accepted in part the responsibility of providing education for all children but do not have the necessary financial resources. The general purpose of P.L. 94-142 is to assure free and appropriate public education to meet the needs of all handicapped students.

Of the utmost importance are the procedures within the law that require the states to establish safeguards to assure that handicapped children are educated with nonhandicapped children, and that special classes, separate schooling, or removal of the handicapped children from the regular classroom environment only occurs if the nature of the severity of the handicaps is such that separate schooling or special programs can provide better educational services. The section on testing and evaluation also states that materials used to place a child must not be racially or culturally discriminatory.

Any state that intends to apply for financial assistance under this legislation must establish and maintain the above-mentioned safeguards and assure that handicapped children are guaranteed free appropriate public education. By September 1, 1978, assistance will be available to those states providing free appropriate education for all handicapped children between the ages of 3 and 21 years. Although, presently, 48 states have some form of mandatory special education a great deal more needs to be accomplished if all children are to benefit from P.L. 94-142.

Futures or "What's Upstream for Mainstreaming?"

In trying to look ahead, I see a tremendous potential for change as we progress toward making general education "special" and a place for all children. The future of legislation and litigation related to special education is wide open. Segregated facilities totally removed from the mainstream of education for trainable mentally impaired, autistic, and physically impaired children, which is accepted practice in many states and is in blatant violation of a handicapped individual's right to an equal education, will come to the fore as one of the major issues in future legislative and litigative change.

The role of the advocate will become increasingly important not only in a supportive role to parents of handicapped children but also in the education of the public at large.

As of this writing I truly wish I could say that I do not see institutions as a part of the future; that, instead, a more humanistically oriented type of residential facility that extends into and is an integrated part of the community will arise for those handicapped persons who are best served in a residential facility.

The role of the university and other teacher-training institutions will change as the emphasis is placed on a normalization model for all children.

Using the delivery systems of the 1960s for the children of today is now and will continue to come under attack from knowledgeable parents and advocate groups.
These are exciting times. Never before have people been more aware of the rights of every individual to an equal opportunity in all areas of life. Progress has been made but we should not be satisfied with those efforts until every child has been given the opportunity to reach his or her greatest potential within a normal life setting.

CHAPTER 5

Synopsis of "The Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (P.L. 94-142)"

Terry L. West & Percy Bates

This brief report has been prepared to acquaint general and special educators and other interested individuals with some of the provisions of P.L. 94-142. The act was signed into law on November 29, 1975. Presidential veto had been expected but concerted public pressure encouraged its enactment. The act has specific implications for special education but, because of its emphasis on mainstreaming, deinstitutionalization, and pre-school handicapped children, it has a projected impact on the entire educational community.

Provisions of P.L. 94-142

PURPOSE

The act offers assistance to state and local agencies that will provide free and appropriate education to all handicapped individuals, age 3 to 21. The impetus for this provision derives from judicial mandate.

PROJECTED AUTHORIZATION LEVELS

The act employs a formula that requires the federal govenment to pay an escalating percentage of the national average per-pupil expenditure, multiplied by the number of handicapped children served. The escalating percentages, together with the projected authorizations, as based upon current national per-pupil expenditures, are as follows, according to Dowling (1976):

Year	Escalating Percentage	Projected Authorization
1976	pre-formula year	$110 million
1977	pre-formula year	200 million
1978	5%	387 million
1979	10%	775 million
1980	20%	1.20 billion

Year	Escalating Percentage	Projected Authorization
1981	30%	$2.32 billion
1982	40%	3.16 billion

CLASSIFICATION LIMITATIONS

A maximum of 12 percent of a state's children in the age range 5 to 17 may be labeled as handicapped. A maximum of one-sixth of the 12 percent may represent Learning Disabled children.

PRIORITIES

The act requires that all handicapped individuals, ages 3 to 21, be beneficiaries. Federal funding priorities are given, first to "unserved" children and, second, to inadequately served, severely handicapped children.

CONTROL OF MONIES

In 1976 and 1977, the states will control all monies. In 1978, 50% of each state's entitlement must "pass through" to intermediate and local agencies. In 1979-1982, 75% must "pass through."

SOME STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The act emphasized state and local responsibilities for

1. early identification of handicapped children;
2. provision of full service;
3. provision of due process machinery;
4. individualized programs for all handicapped children;
5. special education in "least restrictive environments";
6. protection of confidentiality;
7. assurance of nondiscrimination in testing and evaluation;
8. provision of parent consultation;
9. inservice training and comprehensive personnel development;
10. policy guaranteeing the rights of all handicapped children to free, appropriate public education.

PRE-SCHOOL INCENTIVE

Incentive grants are authorized to encourage provision of special services to pre-school handicapped children. Each handicapped child between the ages of 3 and 5 will generate an additional entitlement of $300.

STATE ADVISORY PANEL

A state advisory panel will be created to advise the state on unmet special education needs, rules and procedures, and data reporting. Panel members must be involved in or concerned with education of the handicapped.

REMOVAL OF ARCHITECTURAL BARRIERS

Appropriations in "such sums as may be necessary" are authorized by the act for the removal of architectural barriers.

CENTERS

Through agreements with institutions of higher education and other agencies, the Secretary of HEW will establish centers on educational media and materials for the handicapped, and "such other activities consistent with the purposes of this part." These centers may "contract with public and private agencies and organizations for demonstration projects."

Some Implications for School of Education

1. The act underscores the national commitment to education for the handicapped. Additional special education personnel will be required to meet expanding service needs, consonant with "mainstreaming," "deinstitutionalization," and "preschool handicapped."

2. As per above, there is a new emphasis on the training of "regular" education personnel and leadership people to work with handicapped individuals in educational settings from which they were often previously excluded. The Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped Dean's Projects on Mainstreaming (supported through monies authorized by P.L. 93-380) are in the vanguard of this new emphasis.

3. Although P.L. 94-142 will allocate funds primarily to state, intermediate, and local agencies, the provision requiring the establishment of centers on media and materials and "such other activities consistent with this part" in institutions of higher education allow for direct contract with HEW by schools of education. Material development in specific subject areas (e.g., science, reading, math, etc.) for handicapped children and demonstration projects for new materials, techniques, and technologies will probably be consistent with this provision.

4. The training activities of schools of education rely heavily upon local, intermediate, and state agencies as training sites for field-based programs. The increased influx of funds into these agencies specifically allocated for the education of children with special needs will have implications for training. Schools of education have an investment in maintaining quality training sites and a professional commitment to all of the children which these sites serve. University involvement in inservice training and context-preparation/supportive-service types of activities may well be welcomed.

CHAPTER 6

Parents Look at Mainstreaming

Judith Greenbaum & Geraldine Markel

Of all the options open to the parents of the handicapped child, mainstreaming may be the one they view as the most crucial, and the one to which they bring the most anxiety. The near-normal child places more emotional stress on parents then the more severe and dependent child. Regardless of the nature or severity of the handicap, the near-normal child either will lead an independent life as an adult or will need some kind of supervision and shelter for the rest of his life. The uncertainty of the child's fate is hard for his parents to bear. The variables that spell the difference between independence and dependence are hard to codify and measure. Parents realize that their own contribution to the near-normal child may make the essential difference, and thus they live with unresolved anxiety for a long time. The decision for a mainstreaming placement, if seen by the parents as the preparation for adult independence, becomes fraught with emotion.

History

Any history of special education in America would be woefully inadequate if the role of the parents' movement were not included. It was parents of handicapped children who pushed, often without professional help, for the legislation and services we have today. Not only have the parents often been alone in their search for services, but they often have found themselves vigorously opposed by the professional community.

The first parent groups were similar to parent-teacher organizations but focused on specific custodial care facilities for the retarded. These parents, most of whom were told by physicians and others to "put the child away for the benefit of the family" and then "forget him," fought back against the harsh sentence. They did not forget their children. They not only kept them at home as long as physically and emotionally possible but also tried to upgrade the institutions in which they were eventually forced by circumstance to place their children.

The courage of these parents of the 1940s must be emphasized. They publicly admitted to having handicapped children although social stigmatization was unavoidable. They were loathe to institutionalize their children, defying professional and public opinion. They chose to keep their children at home with their families, although they faced the often-intolerable burden of caring for these children 24 hours a day, 12 months a year. Yet they somehow found the additional strength to seek out other parents and join with them to fight for services for their children.

Wolfensburger & Kurtz (1969) described these parents as "abused, mismanaged, hurt, fighting mad and eloquent....[living in a] 'darker age'" (p. 9). It was they who led special education into a new day "while the professionals were often occupied in attempts to defend the status quo" (p. 9).

A brief outline of the history of the Washtenaw Association for Retarded Children in the State of Michigan may illustrate the impact of one such parents' group on services provided to retarded children in one county in Michigan. This history was replicated throughout the State of Michigan and the entire United States by other groups of parents operating in similar ways.

In Washtenaw County, the parent movement began in 1950 when parents of children at the State Home and Training School joined together to better the conditions at the school. This parent group became the Washtenaw Association for Retarded Children, affiliated with the state and national ARC. As conditions at the school bettered somewhat, these parents became interested in the plight of those families whose retarded children were living at home and were without any services at all.

Their efforts were rewarded in 1956 when the first day center for the trainable retarded in the county was open by WARC in a room donated by the Salvation Army. Money for the work was donated to supplement the modest tuition. However, many children were still not being served. In 1961, at the urging of WARC, the public schools took over sponsorship of a portion of the program. With part of the burden lifted, the WARC was able to continue its responsibility for all trainable and some educable preschoolers and all trainable individuals over 14 years of age. The United Fund supplied some of the required funds. At the urging of parents in 1964, the Ann Arbor Public Schools assumed full administrative responsibility for all trainable mentally impaired children from ages 3 to 21. WARC was then able to turn to another segment of the retarded population which was yet unserved. WARC opened an adult activity center for individuals over 21 years of age. In 1965, a day care center was established for severely retarded children. It was a cooperative venture organized by WARC and financed by Community Mental Health (state and federal funding). Space was rented at a reduced rate from a local church.

Throughout these years, in addition to the hard work of founding and organizing services, the parents found themselves supporting each other psychologically. They enjoyed meeting together, if only to talk about their children to another understanding human being. Fear, guilt, and shame were lessened by these encounters; and information was exchanged. The parents shared joys as well as sorrows and drew strength to go on.

During this time, families with educable mentally impaired and learning disabled children were sometimes better, sometimes worse off than families of trainable and severely impaired children. The most mildly involved child was often found in the regular classroom since few if any classes for mildly impaired children existed in most public schools. Many of these children were never even suspected of being handicapped. They were either considered "difficult" or "slow." However, the more moderately involved child had no place to go at all.

In Washtenaw County, for example, due to the large waiting list of trainable children, it was decided not to admit educable children to the program. Some of these children were denied a place in the public schools as well. This exclusion was especially prevalent if the children had behavior problems.

Learning disabled children depended upon the good will and creativity of the regular classroom teacher, in addition to the tutoring and support of their parents.

Meanwhile, other parent groups were forming around the country. United Cerebral Palsy began in 1941, with an advertisement in the New York Times signed by the parent of a child with cerebral palsy. The advertisement urged other parents to call the signer. Cruickshank noted that in that year, the time had come, through the attitudinal changes of the larger society, for parents of handicapped children to admit to their true feelings, and no longer to hide the presence of a handicapped child in the home. The National Federation of the Blind, a consumer's organization founded by the blind themselves, also started in 1940. These groups, along with the Association for Retarded Children, dealt with the more severely handicapped (or the more overtly handicapped) in our society. The Association for Children with Learning Disabilities was not founded until 1963; it united many parent groups which had been founded in the 1950s, such as the New York State Association for Brain-Injured Children (1957) and California Association for Neurologically Handicapped Children (1960). Lerner (1971) stated, "These parents, believing that public schools should provide the special education required for their children, organized parent groups for the purpose of convincing schools that these exceptional children were educable" (p. 21). Lerner continued,

> As has been typical within the history of special education, the pressure and impetus came from parent groups rather than educators. (p. 21)

The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s gave added voice to the parents. Parents of handicapped children and handicapped adults themselves benefited from the fact that black people banded together and decided to ask for their equal rights under the law. For example, there is presently a bill before the Michigan State Legislature that will unite, under one law, legal guarantees of civil rights for both ethnic minorities and handicapped persons.

In the 1960s, the Kennedy family's influence, not only in the proliferation of services to the handicapped but in the attitude of society toward handicapped children and their families, was also of considerable importance. The retarded Kennedy daughter, the retarded Humphrey granddaughter, the retarded son and deaf daughter of opera star Beverley Sills, such blind singers as Jose Feliciano and Ray Charles, the wheelchair image of Chief Ironsides of television fame, all contributed to alleviating the shame and guilt and loneliness felt by the parents of handicapped children and moderated the attitudes of society in general toward handicapped individuals. Parent groups throughout the country, their strength increasing, pressed for equal educational opportunity for all their handicapped children. They were supported by a society grown sensitive to the needs of handicapped children. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, laws were enacted in all the 50 states and the District of Columbia mandating public schooling for all children with special or unusual needs. A brief history and description of Michigan's law illustrates the other state laws adopted around the country.

Michigan's Committee on Mandatory Special Education was organized in February 1970. It consisted of representatives of such parent organizations as the Michigan Association of Retarded Citizens, United Cerebral Palsy Association, and Michigan Association for Emotionally Disturbed Children, and professionals who were involved in the Michigan Federated Chapter of the Council of Exceptional Children. Other interested citizens, both parents and professionals, also were included. This committee prepared an initiative petition for mandatory special education; they collected in excess of 200,000 signatures from voters throughout the state. At this point, "mainstreaming" had not yet entered the parents' vocabulary.

Michigan's Mandatory Special Act (P.A. 198) went into effect in October 1973. It establishes the right of each handicapped (impaired) person in the state to equal educational opportunity from birth to age 25. One notable part of the Michigan Act is its provision of parents' participation in the educational planning for their children as well as in an intermediate school district Parent Advisory committee to oversee the workings of the law. It was in the guidelines explaining this law that mainstreaming first surfaced as part of the spectrum of educational opportunities open to each child.

Attitudes

Parents' attitudes, shaped by society's attitudes and the services available to handicapped children, have undergone much change through the years. One cannot assume that parents of the 1950s are the same as parents today. Much has transpired to make the parents' lot easier. Although we still have far to go, services and options for handicapped children by local, state, and federal governments have been greatly expanded. We have seen society become more accepting of disability. As a result, parents have become more assertive in asking for the help they need.

Parental attitudes, in general, toward their handicapped children have been studied by professionals over the years. Speeches and articles presented by parents during these same years suggest different conclusions than the professional surveys. Possibly, the speeches and articles by these parents are not representative of all parents. Possibly, some professional bias has crept in. Historically, professionals have seen much pathology in parents of handicapped children. Mythologies often grow up between groups of people out of touch with or distrusted by one another. The often-voiced professional attitude that parents are opposed to mainstreaming is very probably one such myth.

Little is actually known about parents' attitudes toward mainstreaming. It is so new a concept that there has been no time in which to survey parents. A small-scale study was conducted in Washtenaw County one month before the Mandatory Act went into effect in October 1973.

The study asked 35 families of handicapped children the following question: "Do you prefer that your child be in (1) a regular class full time with supportive help, (2) a special class full time, (3) a special school full time or (4) part of the day in a regular class, part in a special class?" According to the results, 13 parents chose the first alternative and 11 chose the fourth; in other words 24 of 35 families chose mainstreaming as the educational alternative for their child for at least part of the day, regardless of the nature or severity of the child's disability. The parents in this study were certainly not representative of all parents of handicapped children and there were several sources of bias in this sample of 35 families. On the other hand, these parents may well be representative of the active parent who works to modify or expand services and whose voice is the one that is heard by professionals in special education and by society in general. In any case, these results indicate the spectrum of possible parental attitudes regarding mainstreaming.

Parents cited several reasons for choosing mainstreaming as the educational alternative for their child. (a) Since children would lead relatively independent lives as adults, they should begin now to experience mainstream life and to build their self-images accordingly. (b) Although the placement might not be permanent at the moment, it seemed the best alternative for their child. (c) Most likely, the child would benefit from the modeling of "normal" children.

On the other hand, some parents preferred not to have their children mainstreamed for more than a small portion of the day. These parents were afraid that their children, although relatively well-functioning, would be rejected and teased by their normal peers, which would be damaging to the child. One parent felt that her child had both intellectual and behavioral deficits of sufficient magnitude to preclude regular class placement at that time. However, this parent felt strongly that special class placement in the public school setting was desirable since the child came in contact informally with "normal" children and learned a great deal from them, linguistically and behaviorally.

The first of three predominant concerns the parents had regarding mainstreaming was the reaction of the normal children in the regular class to the handicapped child. This concern ranged from possible taunting and teasing to no interaction whatever. Some parents were afraid that their children would not be able to make any friends. The parents of the physically impaired children acknowledged that this might be a possibility but felt that their children would have to face this problem as part of the preparation for independent living.

The second major concern of the parents was the grading system in the regular classroom and how it would affect their children. Several parents mentioned that, although their children tried very hard in school, they received "C's" and "D's" from the regular classroom teacher. The teacher insisted on grading "on a curve." The parents want a grading system that takes into account the child's effort vis-à-vis the child's limitations. In other words, they believe that a retarded child who works hard to master the material should get an "A" although in comparison to his/her "normal" classmates he/she is functioning at average or below.

The third concern, and possibly the most important, was the reaction of a regular classroom teacher toward having a handicapped child in her class. Parents asked the administration if they could place their child in the classroom of a receptive teacher, one who actually wanted a handicapped child in her classroom. The parents felt that as mainstreaming became more acceptable to regular classroom teachers (through inservice training), choosing the child's teacher would become less important.

In summary, these parents of handicapped children viewed the mainstreaming alternative as dependent upon their particular child, his educational and emotional needs, and the placement options open to the child. Some parents felt that their children belonged in and would benefit from the mainstream. Others felt that a more sheltered alternative would be best. Some parents felt that their children should be in the mainstream for a large part of the day but not for the entire day. Others felt that their child should be mainstreamed for one nonacademic subject such as gym, music, or art. No parent viewed mainstreaming as an easy alternative. Modification of the curriculum and the physical environment and emotional support were seen as necessary for successful mainstreaming. Most important, the parents felt, is the fostering of a positive attitude in the school administration, regular classroom teachers, and all the children attending school. It is certainly time for large-scale studies of parent attitudes toward mainstreaming to be launched.

Goals

The goal of mainstreaming should be to increase the probability that the exceptional child will function as independently and successfully as possible. This does not imply that all children will function independently but that they will operate as well as possible, according to their current abilities. Mainstreaming to the maximum degree possible, rather than exclusion, enhances the chances for success and independence since it provides opportunities to model and practice social skills which might not be available otherwise.

However, movement from a residential center or special class to a regular class in and of itself insures nothing. Mainstreaming must be viewed as a dynamic process, not as a product or one-time placement.

Initially, the exceptional individual is placed in the least restrictive setting possible while attempts are made to provide the most effective program available. Periodically, procedures and services are evaluated and new programs are designed to meet more complex sets of affective, cognitive, and/or psychomotor needs.

Considerations and Variability

There is great variability within the educational environment that must be dealt with. A major consideration is the uniqueness of the child and the necessity of program planning on a case-by-case basis. Although school systems are designed to and traditionally deal with groups, legislation guaranteeing educational services to exceptional individuals from pre-school to adulthood will necessitate a broader range of service and a greater focus on the student as an individual. The school system will be required to have a cascade of services available to meet the individual needs of the students, as well as to provide adjustments, as progress is achieved.

Additional sources of variability within the educational system are the uniqueness of the parent, teacher, and school system at any particular time. Each of these component parts may have its own value system, attitude toward handicapping conditions, service delivery system, financial constraints, and a history of interactions with exceptional children and their parents. Lastly, there is the great variety of legislative rulings and interpretations at national, state, and local levels.

The inevitable variability within the educational system cannot be denied, but must be dealt with. It is difficult to make decisions when one's feelings and priorities are clear; it is next to impossible when the participants must guess about each other's perceptions. Parents not only have the right but the responsibility to air their views or preferences and to have them considered in the selection of program alternatives and schedules.

The avoidance of these issues and the failure to thrash out differences will undoubtedly hamper the decision-making process. The intention of the law is full parental participation. To comply with this intent, parents will have to become more assertive in their dealings with the school. Mainstreaming efforts can be effective through a continual cycle of decision making which must fully involve parents.

Labeling

Parents as well as professionals must separate the various uses of labels. A label can be used administratively for placement in funded programs. A label can also be used educationally with the hope of providing information for program planing. The latter use is based on a medical model and usually is inappropriate for educational programing.

Administratively, a label can be useful when a parent is attempting to attain services or benefits. A child with a label has the legal right to services from the school or district and direct payments (social security, supplemental security income) or benefits (vocational rehabilitation, tax deductions) from state or federal agencies. However, because of rigid definitions, the child who falls between labels or requires several labels can lose out on services or benefits.

Educationally, labels have failed to provide useful information for the planning of educational alternatives or facilitating communication. Even when the definition is clear to the professions, it may not be explained adequately to the parent. When it is explained, the label is often presented with medical interpretation, which is usually irrelevant for educational programing. Regardless of the area of disability, the behaviors associated with a label are frequently presented as a set of rigid and invariable characteristics. The label often lumps all types of behavioral characteristics together and then blocks people's perception of the individual child's strengths, weaknesses, and learning style. There is an emphasis on the child's limitations rather than potential. Therefore, in practice, rather than facilitating communication, the label tends to inhibit and distort the information. It is critical for the parent and/or teacher to first identify the label(s) used and then to have them defined in understandable, observable, and measurable terms as they currently apply to the child. This procedure may then provide some shared information that can be used for decision making. It is a parent's right to request a definition of a term and an explanation of how the label was determined. The next task is to see if the personnel--principal, teacher, specialists, etc.--involved with the child concur with the label and share similar definitions, prognosis, and suggested procedures.

As a group, parents can gelp to reduce the use of labels. Rather than adoptint a categorical label as an organizational title (i.e., Association for Retarded Citizens), parent groups should and are beginning to use titles that reflect behavioral descriptions (i.e., Association for Children with Social and Learning Difficulties). Parents in this situation are choosing titles that describe behavior and suggest a focus on solving problems rather than continuing the stereotypic global classification of their exceptional children. Parents should refrain and discourage other people from using a label as a descriptor of the total child.

Strategies

The basic process in mainstreaming is parental and professional constant decision making. All participants are involved in a cycle of planning, implementing, evaluating, and modifying on a long-as well as short-term basis. Mainstreaming as a developing educational concept causes changes in special and regular education services and in turn, is modified by the responses of these services. The cycle of concept development, service response, and modification of the concept must be based on the systematic collection of information on performance. Performance is used in its broadest sense to include the exceptional individual's behavior in the affective, cognitive, and psychomotor domains. Without a data base, decision making is capricious and does not insure the individual's continued success.

Parents must be involved in the decision making process during the initial planing and placement conferences and then, periodically, in program evaluation. Decisions concerning placements should be based on (a) an ordered list of the child's needs, (b) the individual preferences of parent, child, and professional, and (c) an expectation of possible modification, based on evaluation.

Exceptional children often have many needs. The values and attitudes of a group of decision makers are reflected when such needs and/or program alternatives are listed in order of importance. If awareness of differences and compromises are gained at this point, program planning and the chances for success are enhanced.

With the variability of the system, the only thing one can be sure of is change. Parents and professionals must think of programs as the best alternative that can be designed at a particular time. Initially, time schedules and expected performance criteria should be specified so that there are clear indications for program modification. Therefore, at the initial conference, the dates and the sources of information used for judging success should be listed. Decisions concerning program evaluation should be based on a list of expected outcomes which are periodically compared to the (a) actual performance of the child (tests, observations, work samples); (b) analysis of the experience by the parents and professionals; and (c) views of the experience by the child.

Too often, decisions are made in the absence of information about the child's performance or with information unrelated to the original objectives. In addition, once a program has been implemented, the news of this experience is not shared among the child, parent, teacher, consultant, and/or administrator. A critical phase of the process is the comparison of original intent, actual performance, and perceptions of the program. Only then can patterns emerge that will illustrate which education alternatives influence progress for a particular child. The parent must insist that work samples or tests related to objectives be sampled for evaluation of progress. The parent should maintain a file with notes, samples of work, and reports from outside sources which can be used during conferences. If behavioral problems surface, then observations or notes on the occurrence of the behaviors must be in evidence. Interviewing the child or observations of the classroom by members of the original planning team can be advantageous also.

Our plans and evaluations must be projected and adopted in stages as the child and educational system respond to one another. The actual process and problems incurred during mainstreaming efforts can be analyzed by relating the experience of one family as they attempted to integrate their handicapped son into the educational mainstream.

A Case History

Danny, age 9, has cerebral palsy. He can be described as having spastic paraplegia with some involvement of the upper extremeties. He needs a walker (Roll-aider) to get around. He also has a profound hearing loss of 80 decibels which is corrected to 60 db with a hearing aid. He is good looking, with flaxen hair, bright eyes, and beautiful teeth. He is a bit small for his age. He sometimes drools. His speech is intelligible most of the time. When he has difficulty communicating a particular idea, he compensates by using a synonym or several word descriptions culled from his large vocabulary. He lipreads well, and that talent, coupled with the assistance of his hearing aid, helps him to function as a hearing person. He is reading at or around grade level, hates math, and in general, is a bright child who is pleased with his accomplishments. Danny is the oldest of two children in his middle-class family and is presently mainstreamed in the second grade of his neighborhood school.

Until 1973, when he was 7, Danny attended a special (public) school for orthopedically handicapped children. At that time, his mother and, to a lesser extent, his father, pressed for Danny's transfer to a regular class in his neighborhood school. One of the prime reasons motivating his mother was that Danny had to spend three hours every day on the bus that took him to his special school. In addition, after visiting Danny's classroom several times, observing the other children, and monitoring Danny's feelings when he arrived home from school, his mother felt that the program was not appropriate for him. However, there appeared to be no other alternative for Danny. It was at this point that Danny's mother asked herself and her husband, "Could Danny possibly manage in a regular classroom?"

Danny's mother visited the neighborhood school and talked with the principal about her concerns. She found the principal very receptive to having a physically impaired child attend the school. The principal, in turn, visited Danny's home to meet him. After observing Danny at home, the principal talked to several of the kindergarten teachers to find out their feelings about having Danny in their classroom. One of the teachers was particularly enthusiastic. So principal, teacher, parents, and child agreed to give mainstreaming a try.

The mother then asked the Director of Special Education to convene an Educational Planning and Placement Conference to change Danny's placement officially. It was at the EPPC that much resistance to mainstreaming Danny surfaced. The principal of the special school, school psychologist, nurse, and physical therapist all opposed the idea of mainstreaming Danny at this time. It was felt that he still needed a great deal of physical therapy which would be precluded by placement out of the special school. But the principal of the neighborhood school and the kindergarten teacher, along with Danny's parents, pushed to give it a try. "It might work and it might not." So Danny starded kindergarten in his neighborhood school.

On the first day of school, it became apparent that the teacher, even with her positive attitude, had not realized the full situation. First of all, because of his poor balance and coordination, Danny needed help in going to the bathroom. A call to Danny's mother prompted her to volunteer to come to school every day at

10:00 a.m. to toilet Danny. In addition, Danny walked very slowly and precariously with his walker and was soon out-distanced by his jostling, giggling classmates on their way to art and music. He could not participate in much of the activities in the gym. Because of his upper extremity involvement, he wrote, colored, cut, and pasted very slowly. It became clear to Danny's teacher (and mother) that a full-time aide was needed in her classroom to help with Danny. Fortunately, there was some federal money in the school system for this position.

Currently, there are two aides in Danny's classroom, one in the morning, one in the afternoon. They work with the class in general and the teacher is pleased to have them. Specifically, they help with toileting Danny (his mother no longer has the responsibility), accompany him on his slow walk to art and music, and help him to some extent with his school work. An alternative to spending money on an aide could have been to install grab bars in the bathroom or to have a volunteer parent already present in the school to help with toiletting. Older children could help out in the gym and the teacher might slow down the class on their walk to art and music. Danny's mother feels that, at the moment, she is willing to sacrifice some of Danny's independence for his safety (in the bathroom and hallway) but eventually, he will be responsible for meeting his needs himself and, thus, guidance will help him toward later independence.

Once a week for one hour, a teacher-consultant for the hearing impaired comes to school to help Danny and the teacher. The mother says that ideally the teacher-consultant should see Danny once a day. Danny could also have the service of a helping teacher but this mother and classroom teacher feel that too much fragmentation would result. The parents have taken responsibility for Danny's physical therapy. Danny's mother takes him three times a week to the local children's hospital. These visits are financed by the Michigan Society for Crippled Children. Danny has received physical therapy daily at his special school as part of his educational program. His parents felt that the benefits of mainstreaming more than offset the additional responsibility for taking Danny to physical therapy outside of school.

Danny's kindergarten and first-grade teachers chose not to prepare the noraml children in Danny's class for his presence. However, they answered all the children's questions as they surfaced. The mother agreed with this approach. Danny, too answered questions. The children got to explore Danny's "phonic ear" and talk into the microphone which the teacher wore. All in all, Danny's mother believes that the children in Danny's class feel positively toward him.

Danny's social life is still somewhat restricted by society's attitudes toward disability, which is why his mother takes an active interest in enhancing his social interactions. She invites Danny's classmates to play with him several times a week. Birthdays become gala affairs. Mother and son understand the other children and their parents and are willing to take the initiative in social contacts. Danny is seldom invited by other children to their houses. On the other hand, Danny's mother feels that he should learn how to enjoy being alone since, as a handicapped individual, relative isolation will be his lot. To this end, Danny is enrolled in an art course at the local art association. He seems to have both talent and interest in this area.

Danny's mother is helping him to maintain his relationships with other handicapped children and adults so that at least some of the time he does not feel unique. Last, the teacher, principal, and parents feel that society has much to learn from Danny. Mainstreaming Danny may foster a more accepting attitude toward all disabilities.

Decision Making

The case of Danny could give the impression of consistent, positive, and successful interactions between home and school. However, although it is not indicated in the case study, the participants on both sides frequently felt abused and frustrated by one another. It took months to deal with the natural and common feelings of frustration, tension, and sometimes loneliness. Different problems encountered by parents and teachers during mainstreaming evoke complex emotions that must be dealt with.

Parents and school personnel must realize that such feelings will emerge and that it takes time and patience to cope with the issues. Danny's program almost failed several times; however, after several years of hard work and cooperation, a comfortable and effective program is functioning.

Programs are often cyclical and disequilibrium can be predicted between the parent and school personnel. Uneven patterns of behavior and achievement are frequently observed and should be expected. The anticipation and discussion of possible disequilibrium is one way of easing tensions. A statement such as "This must be the hard time we talked about," leads to planning and problem solving rather than recriminations and tensions.

The identification of acceptable ranges of performance and behavior in mainstreamed environments facilitates decision making when problems occur. Comparing the projected to the actual rate of progress helps the parent and teacher to discriminate whether the problems are temporary and within an expected range or reflecting a critical issue that requires some major modification.

In essence, the decision makers, the parents and teacher, must define those things that would allow them to answer a question such as, "Could Danny possibly manage in a regular classroom?" Instead of deciding on the basis of "feelings," attitudes, and random observations, both parent and teacher outline the behaviors, performance, or reactions that would be required for a positive or negative answer. This procedure provides the specific criteria to use in deciding if mainstreaming plans should be maintained, modified, or discarded.

Summary

The parents' role in the evaluation of the mainstreaming concept depends on their degree of involvement in the decision-making process for their individual children and their evaluation of programs and progress through parent organizations. The individual or the group will each be stronger and more influential when supported by information from the other. Events reported by parents from several schools allow an organization to observe patterns, seek additional information, and plan effective strategies. The organization, in turn, provides information on options, training, and support for parents dealing on an individual basis. The parent organization has been a major force in changing attitudes and services for the exceptional individual. The benefits in terms of lobbying, finances, access to expertise, and support must not be overlooked by parents or professionals.

For parents, mainstreaming means continuous interaction with educational personnel for planning, implementing, evaluating and modifying services on an individual basis or through parent organizations.

INTERLUDE

INTERLUDE

Rudolf B. Schmerl

The papers in this volume grew out of a seminar taught by Professor Bates and Mr. West in the spring of 1976 at the University of Michigan. I had been asked to participate, despite my absolute ignorance of anything having to do with the topic, because the production of this volume was the seminar's purpose, and I have had some experience as a teacher of English and as an editor of material in many fields I know nothing about. So I talked, from time to time, about writing and organization and style, and I asked a lot of questions, and gradually I became uneasy. I was asked to make that uneasiness explicit here.

Let me repeat: I am a layman. I have never taught, nor wanted to, any kind of class at the public school level; I have had no training in education, psychology, sociology, or law, and only very little in history; I know absolutely nothing about genetics or biochemistry or neurology or any of the many other pertinent scientific fields; with only one faint exception, I have not even had any personal experiences with handicapped children or their parents. Why, then, should I agree to suggest more than a comma here or a syntactical change there? Why not simply listen respectfully to people who have not only studied their subject as scholars but also have been involved, and continue to be involved, in it as practitioners?

Because, I think, we already have too many experts talking only to each other, and about matters that go far beyond their expertise. A football coach talking about the relation of the game to the moral development of the participants, to the nation's strength of character, and to constants in human nature leaves his expertise far behind and is open to rebuttal by people who do not know a wingback from a split end. A businessman who identifies unfettered opportunities for the accumulation of wealth with both natural law and personal freedom would not be surprised by disagreements with people who do not know the stock market from a fish market. And special educators, whether they are for, against, or noncommittal about mainstreaming, cannot take refuge in expertise once they have made declarations about the rights of all children, the purposes of education, and social and moral imperatives. That Messrs. Bates and West, and the other contributors to this volume, have recognized this fact is, of course, greatly to their credit.

The preceding papers display three characteristics, although not uniformly, that are the cause of my disquietude. The authors generally agree that desirable educational arrangements are those that benefit individual children in some personal way. They generally see questions of ideology, structure, finance, administration, and the like in essentially political terms, that is, as questions to be resolved (whether through persuasion, litigation, legislation, or a heightening of moral sensibilities) by adjusting power relations among the groups in conflict. And they generally do not specify what kinds and what degrees of handicaps, mental and physical, represent the outer limits of acceptability of children who are to be mainstreamed. Let me take these matters in reverse order.

The mildly retarded child who can be taught to read and write, to learn some skills, to obtain a job at which he can achieve self-sufficiency, is clearly not the issue here, especially if he presents no particular behavioral problem. Nor, I assume, are the authors writing about children requiring constant custodial care, children suffering from severe physiological and neurological disorders and malfunctions. The question thus immediately becomes one of diagnosis: Is so-and-so a child who, despite what appear to be mental abnormalities, one who might benefit, personally, socially, educationally, by being placed in a regular classroom? What instruments shall we use to assist us to render this judgment? Who shall make it? What appear to be the social conditions surrounding it? Since we know that different children develop different abilities at different rates, how confident can we be that what appears to be some form of retardation in a very young child is indeed a permanent deficiency, impermeable to various forms of treatment?

In my view, there are no general answers to these questions. If there is a reasonable doubt about a given child's abilities, present and potential, then it seems to me obvious that we must give the child every chance to develop his mind and his personality under the most favorable circumstances we can contrive. What those circumstances are should ideally be determined only by our judgment of what might stimulate that development most rapidly, although practically, of course, we will be limited by resources of both money and staff. That is an easy enough position to take. The hard part comes when, in our judgment, the child's mental growth has come to a stop.

Who is to render this judgment? Those whose business it is to do so; certainly not those whose business it is not. What is to be done with the child? That depends on the circumstances. If, under arrangements other than the public school, he can be taught a skill through which he might make a livelihood, that should be done. If he cannot learn such a skill, then presumably we must make arrangements for his care. And I think that that should be done as soon as possible, not only for his sake but, at least equally importantly, for that of his family. It is not necessarily to the family's benefit to leave the child in its care as long as possible, especially not if there are other children. I happen to place the highest possible value on the family; to me, the ugliest story in the Old Testament is that of Abraham's readiness, however reluctant it was, to sacrifice his son in obedience to God. Any God who would test his adherent's loyalty in this way should be rejected, not worshipped. But isn't our adherence to the rights of parents to decide the fate of their severely handicapped children a similar sacrifice of people to a principle? And isn't the principle, in this instance, tantamount to irresponsible and potentially harmful postponement of social obligations? I do not expect that a society still arguing about the rights of private property owners to do as they wish with what is only temporarily theirs is ready to consider limitations to the rights of parents to do as they wish with what is also only temporarily theirs. Still, the point is that there is an issue here, and that it is at least debatable.

The second characteristic of the preceding papers, their essentially political orientation, seems to me strangely at variance with the idealism implicit in all the arguments not only for mainstreaming but also for special education in general. Special education as a lobby, representing a constituency, seeking more influence, more power, more money, is undoubtedly a reality in a country in which the various educational institutions all are products of similar forces. The realism of a call, covert or overt, for more of what works is superficially attractive. Some successes have been won; more seem likely. If legislation for bilingual or multicultural education can be achieved on behalf of children whose native language is not English, or whose culture is not Anglo-Saxon, why not envision something camparable for handicapped children? Equal opportunity for all children is not a goal easy to dismiss, especially not when the equality of all children is maintained on the basis of their intrinsic worth as human beings.

Still, such a position is only superficially attractive. By accepting adversary relations between different interest groups as intrinsic to a democracy's educational system, the advocates of more political power for special education seem to me to condemn themselves to be a permanent minority. They may achieve greater toleration; they may even achieve permanence, like the teachers' unions, as a factor to be reckoned with in the appointment of people to office and the allocation of funds. But are these their goals? Will they also work for their own eventual disappearance by supporting genetic counseling, biomedical research, measures intended not only to mitigate handicaps but also to reduce the number of the handicapped? Or will the latter question continue to be surrounded by religious mysticism, cries of social engineering, accusations of eugenic fascism?

It is admittedly an ugly question, but it is worth raising. The political power of any group depends to some extent on that group's size and to a larger extent on its relative longevity. To accept the political nature of our educational system and to attempt to use it on behalf of a given group means that one has an interest in increasing that group's size and in making it as permanent as possible. Neither of these goals can be justified on any conceivable rational or humane grounds for special education lobbyists. We not only do not need, we do not *want* more handicapped children. We want fewer. In fact, we want none at all.

So the traditional political process, as it is played out, year after year, in education, does not seem to me appropriate for special education. Special educators serve a constituency unlike any other, a constituency whose disappearance would have to be welcomed by all rational persons. I do not find much confrontation of that fact--and I am convinced it is one--in the papers in this volume. Our moral responsibility to do the best we can for those handicapped persons already among us includes, it seems to me, an obligation to reduce their number in the future. The greatest success special educators, like generals, could achieve is to diminish society's need for them.

The issue of greatest concern to me, then, is what to do about those handicapped children who are with us here and now. For some--and I am not qualified to try to describe even in the most general terms who they might be--mainstreaming seems to be a perfectly acceptable, indeed, beneficial strategy, up to the point of their maximum development. For others, mainstreaming may well be disastrous, as well as for their classmates and teachers. I cannot believe that we need any but a humane and flexible policy, emphasizing not principles but children's possibilities as we see them on an individual basis. Does this mean that, like some of the authors of the papers in this volume, I think that one should structure arrangements to suit the child, that, in the old phrase, teachers should teach children and not subjects? It certainly does not. On the contrary, I think that we are already dangerously close to eliminating many of the fundamental distinctions education is traditionally supposed to foster. It is not at all certain that our high schools are not already processing mentally deficient children, regardless of their ability to read and write, right along with normal and even superior children who cannot read and write either, to and through commencement exercises every June. I do not believe that human rights exist in the abstract. Indeed, since the abstract is a human invention understood by very few people, nothing is more inimical to a specific human being's rights than considering them in the abstract. To declare that differences are unimportant, that all children have the same rights, that we are somehow morally obligated to move children from one level to the next because they have grown older--is to confuse education with religion. Perhaps we are all already equal in the sight of God, and perhaps we will all be equal in Heaven. But we are obviously not equal in our mental abilities and, as I understand public education, the stimulation of mental abilities is very largely what education is about.

I have no reservations about equality of educational opportunity. The question is what to do when that opportunity has been provided, as best as we can manage, and distinctions emerge. I think the answer must be the honest one, always. We are already lying to far too many normal children. We will not improve matters by lying to exceptional ones, and their parents, as well.

PART II

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MAINSTREAMING

CHAPTER 7

Resistance to Mainstreaming

Darlene Schoolmaster

The mainstreaming of exceptional children is no longer a theoretical issue. Today's educators are not afforded the luxury of evaluating the various aspects of mainstreaming and then deciding the best course of action for educators in some distant future. Special education students are already being mainstreamed in many school systems today. Although specific policies and practices differ, such children include those generally classified as learning disabled, educable mentally retarded, and emotionally, visually, hearing, and physically impaired but less severely as.

In most school systems, mainstreaming is presented as an alternative to a specific problem. For example, some educable mentally impaired students may be in regular classes while the district still operates segregated classrooms for other educable mentally impaired children. Some emotionally impaired children may be in regular classes full time, some part time, and some may be in self-contained special classes. The presence of mainstreaming does not imply a lack of special education services for the children involved. Generally, school systems have tried to build ancillary support systems for both exceptional children in regular classes and for regular classroom teachers.

I have worked as a special educator in a mainstreamed situation and philosophically support the concept. Mainstreaming is an issue of the rights of handicapped individuals to an education; those rights must be recognized. In the small and limited setting in which I was involved, we were successful in educating exceptional children in a less restrictive environment.

I have pragmatic reservations, however, about the large-scale success of the mainstreaming effort. Mainstreaming, like most educational innovations, cannot be viewed in isolation. Many other aspects of the total school operation are affected by the education of special children in regular classes. In most cases, changes will have to occur concurrent with or, better, prior to the mainstreaming effort if this alternative is to benefit the exceptional child. Further, if the initial attempts at mainstreaming are poorly planned and operated, then each subsequent effort has less and less chance of success as negative feelings become stronger and more widespread.

Resistance to mainstreaming exists, not so much as outright denials of the right of handicapped individuals to an appropriate education, but rather as subconscious attitudes hardened by the daily difficulties faced by those involved in these programs. The sources of resistance are varied, but all in some way affect the education of exceptional children in regular classrooms.

Children

Both normal and exceptional children may and often are the source of difficulties impeding the success of mainstreaming. Normal children may be fearful of those who are different and with whom they have previously had little contact. In some school systems special education classrooms are located in completely separate facilities. In other systems, clusters of segregated classrooms are housed in a few buildings within the district. In either case, a student can move from grade to grade without having any contact with an exceptional child. The separation of handicapped from normal children has a long history. Thus, the sudden placement of a special student in a regular classroom can evoke anxiety and result in overt rejection of the new class member.

Chavez, in reviewing the history of special education, and Zand, in discussing attitudes toward exceptionality, show how these feelings toward special children, these attitudes and behaviors, have been part of our cultural heritage for generations. But more than history is involved. Students in regular education who are themselves close to the categorical handicaps may hamper successful mainstreaming. The child with learning problems may be the least accepting of the educable mentally impaired; the class bully may be the most hostile to an aggressive child from an emotionally impaired program; a child with some motor difficulties may be the least helpful to a classmate with more obvious and limiting physical impairment. In addition, activation of the pecking-order mechanism could result in classroom disruption as exceptional children are integrated into regular education settings. Children, especially those with problems, continually strive to increase their distance from the bottom of the pecking order with the arrival of any new class members who appear capable of occupying the last position in the hierarchy.

Children currently in segregated special classes may also resist mainstreaming attempts. If they remember unpleasant school experiences before their special class placement, they may well fear returning to a similar situation. Their relative security in the special class setting may be enhanced by their familiarity with each other and with the same teacher over several years. This situation may be particularly applicable to the non-white student. Further, at least one study suggested that educable mentally impaired children in special classes have poorer self-concepts than comparable children in regular classes (Meyerowitz, 1966). If these findings can be generalized to a broader population that includes other impairments, then reintegrating an exceptional student may be viewed by the child as a condemnation to failure.

The time a child has been in a special class in itself may present a barrier to mainstreaming. The longer that students have been segregated, the less likely it is that they will want to leave, and the harder it is to plan realistically for their educational future outside of special class placement.

Parents

Parents of children in special education programs as well as those of normal children may be opposed to mainstreaming. To the former, regular class settings may appear inhospitable. They may have unpleasant memories of earlier experiences in general education. They may not want to leave settings where they and their children have been well treated. Many of them have worked diligently for special services and programs for their children and do not want to risk losing these services under the guise of mainstreaming. Mainstreaming could potentially legitimize the abandonment of exceptional children to undifferentiated programs (Hobbs, 1975).

Parents of normal children may also oppose mainstreaming. Like their children, they may be nervous about direct exposure to someone who is different and with whom they have had little or no previous interactions. They may feel that the presence of an exceptional student in their children's classrooms chould result in the teacher's disproportionate attention to that child. Thus parents may feel that their children's education will suffer for the sake of the exceptional child.

Administrative Considerations

The administration of a public school system is composed of two parts: the educators who work as administrators and the structure of the administration itself--its procedures, policies, and hierarchies. Both have a tremendous impact on every facet of schooling the mainstreaming of exceptional children.

Principals may not have had any practical or academic experience with exceptional children. A 1970 study by Lyndal Bullock showed that none of the certification requirements for school administrators in any of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, or Puerto Rico called for courses in special education; 65 percent of the elementary school administrators had had no course work related to the education of exceptional children; and 23 percent had taken one course, 8 percent had taken 2 courses, and only 4 percent had taken 3 or more courses in special education. Those principals who have housed exceptional children in segregated classrooms in their buildings may have derived little knowledge from the experience; often, the principals have had little say in the operation of these classrooms and, therefore, regard the program and its constituents as unrelated to the rest of the school.

A principal can make mainstreaming difficult for reasons other than a lack of training in special education. Morse (1971) felt that the principal's role is crucial to the successful accommodation of special pupils in regular classes. He stated that the key criteria, however, are how the principal works with his or her teachers and how he or she serves as an over-group person to the children. Thus, a principal should be trained to make the system flexible and supportive. The principal must support teachers, children, and parents throughout the mainstreaming effort.

In the mainstreaming project in which I was involved, the role played by the building principal was crucial. In fact, in one instance the principal's past experience and involvement with special education and exceptional children resulted in his building being chosen as the site of a pilot program. I observed a good program begin a decline in a building where the principal became weak and inconsistent in providing help to teachers. One teacher even felt that the principal was placing difficult children in her classroom to force her to change her teaching methods or request a transfer, or both.

Although perhaps not overtly opposed to placing exceptional children in regular classrooms, special education administrators may be very reluctant to do so. Many of them have been able to manage their programs with very little interference and have come to feel very secure in their autonomy. A widespread mainstreaming of special students would of necessity alter this role, requiring more interaction with and dependence on general education personnel. Some special education directors, supervisors, and consultants may not only feel uncomfortable about a move in this direction but also may not know how to cooperate successfully with general education staff.

The administrative structure itself may be a barrier to successful integration of exceptional children in regular classrooms. At local, county, and state levels, general and special education may have parallel administrative hierarchies which can make working together difficult. The two can operate almost as separate entities within the same system. The budget, budgeting procedures, and time schedules may be different, making the placement of special students in regular classes fraught with ramifications related much more to the operation of the bureaucracy than to the education of children.

The organization of instruction may also pose problems to effective mainstreaming. The conventional age-grade placement, for instance, may present difficulties in placing exceptional children in the most appropriate educational setting. In general, secondary school curricula lack realistic vocational exploration and prevocational training, both of which are important to accommodate special students successfully. An issue as basic as the current size of most regular classrooms appears highly pertinent to mainstreaming: Cruickshank (1974) stated that successful integration requires a reduction in the number of children in the classrooms involved.

Teachers

Teachers in both general and special education may resist mainstreaming. Because so much of the success of any educational program depends on the teachers who implement it, the sources of teachers' resistance should be examined carefully.

Regular classroom teachers, like children, parents, and administrators, may have had little contact with exceptional children. They may have had no coursework in special education nor much practical experience with special students. These teachers may feel dubious about their capabilities to work with exceptional children. Just making the teachers aware of their freedom to design a classroom to accommodate these students is not enough; it may only reinforce their feelings of inadequacy (Morse, 1971).

Further, efforts to train general educators for mainstreaming have not kept pace with efforts to mainstream, causing not only frustration but negativism toward the entire concept. Teachers may feel that they have not been shown specifically how to individualize in their classrooms to provide for special students. General educators may feel that they lack a broad, encompassing model for an individualized classroom in which they can comfortably accommodate a wide range of students (Morse, 1971). Regular classroom teachers may rightly feel that they have been given much teoretical advice but little else. Bates and West elaborate further on the implication of this problem for teacher education.

There are, of course, general educators who do not want special students in their classrooms and who will not make attempts to accommodate them. But teachers whose attitudes are positive and compentency high, may also feel that there are limits to their abilities to meet the needs of each child when the numbers are large, the spectrum wide, and the budget limited. Many excellent general educators have undoubtedly been involved with mainstreaming efforts thus far, and I feel fortunate to have worked with several of them. These are the people who arrive early, stay late, and participate in volunteer workshops and inservice training. But their "reward" is often that the most difficult children in the school are placed in their classrooms.

Not all special education teachers support mainstreaming. Like administrators of special education, these teachers may feel reluctant to relinquish the autonomy of a segregated program. They may hesitate to assume a resource/consultant type of role. Indeed, they may have neither the skills nor the personal characteristics to do so. Further, special education teachers may oppose mainstreaming as an unjustified indictment of special education to work with exceptional children effectively. They may think, on the contrary, that they have done a good job and have the support of satisfied parents.

Not only may special education personnel resist mainstreaming themselves, they may also be the cause of some of the resistance from general educators. Special education personnel have frequently blamed regular teachers for the exclusion of special students in the first place. The special educator can hardly expect these same teachers, their former scapegoats, to accept these students along with the vague

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consultative services of the former teacher of the self-contained special class, without some sharp recollections of recent divisions.

Structural Considerations

School buildings in most districts are not able to accommodate the mainstreaming of a full range of special students. This fact becomes most clear when one considers students with physical impairments. Structural changes and additions would be necessary in most facilities, and the basic style and layout of some school buildings make this no simple task. Litigation, however, may result in court orders that leave little choice for public school systems.

Aside from the obvious structural problems of accommodating students with physical impairments in general education, more subtle difficulties may arise for exceptional children whose problems are not physical. For example, some children with emotional impairments may have difficulty in a school without interior walls. The size of some classrooms as compared to the number of students may hinder a very distractable child, who needs a quiet, isolated work area. Some buildings do not have adequate space for children who need an area for work in motor skill areas. In short, many buildings are not now conducive to the successful integration of special students.

Professional Affiliates

The National Education Association and The American Federation of Teachers have both adopted resolutions concerning the mainstreaming of special students.

> RESOLVED, that the AFT support and encourage the concept of mainstreming for handicapped children, both moderate and severe, to the degree recommended by the psychologist, special education teacher, administrator, and classroom teachers, and be it further
>
> RESOLVED, that the AFT encourage local unions to work actively to promote legislation to gain federal funding of special education programs to provide mainstream settings; to train additional special education personnel, to provide necessary supportive services for such mainstreaming programs, and be it further
>
> RESOLVED, that in the implementation of the mainstreaming program, collective bargaining agreements entered into by local unions include adequate provisions for viable class size and protection against the diminution of their special certificated or licenses of both the special education and regular education teachers affected by the program. (American Federation of Teachers, 1975 Convention Resolutions, 1975).

The NEA will support the mainstreaming of handicapped students only when the following conditions are met:

a. It provides a favorable learning experience both for handicapped and for regular students.

b. Regular and special teachers and administrators share equally in its planning and implementation.

c. Regular and special teachers are prepared for these roles.

d. Appropriate instructional materials, supportive services, and pupil personnel services are provided for the teacher and the handicapped students.

e. Modifications are made in class size, scheduling, and curriculum design to accommodate the shifting demands that mainstreaming creates.

f. There is a systematic evaluation and reporting of program developments.

g. Adequate additional funding and resources are provided for mainstreaming and used exclusively for that purpose.

(National Education Association, Resolutions, New Business, and Other Actions, 1975)

Thus, the AFT actively supports mainstreaming while the NEA will support mainstreaming only when some very specific conditions are met. Some of these conditions could impede mainstreaming efforts. For example, how will the issue of viable class size be resolved in specific situations when one or more special students are to become part of a classroom? Who will decide if and when and which teachers are prepared for the new roles? How simple a task is modification of schedules and curriculum? How will additional funding and resources be obtained in school systems facing budget cutbacks?

Further, an examination of some local schools' contract provisions may illustrace that, in practice, bargaining units may directly oppose the education of special students in regular classes. The following isolated provisions from specific contracts in force in districts in Michigan's Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties, in 1971, indicate that their implementation would certainly limit mainstreaming in that particular district:

-Teachers may appeal cases in which they disagree with the recommendation of the specialists.

-...teachers may not fairly be expected to assume the ongoing responsibility for the role of warden or custodian for emotionally disturbed or physically handicapped or mentally handicapped students.

-Children diagnosed or identified as "handicapped" are to be removed from the regular classroom. (Sosnowsky and Coleman, 1971)

Sosnowsky and Coleman (1971) found frequent and clear contract provisions protecting teachers against having to put up with problem behavior. Although several contracts provided for referral, removal, or punishment of students, only one made provision for their re-entry to regular classes.

In states with mandatory special education laws, such as Michigan, however, the problem is resolved through a provision stating that no contract may contain provisions that would hinder full implementation of the law (P.A. 198, Michigan).

Discussion

Clearly, successfully implementing a program to educate special students in regular classrooms will not be simple. Much more is involved than the mere placement of a student in an integrated setting. Other aspects of the total educational system must change.

Current resistance to mainstreaming comes from the parts of the total system not yet ready for an integrated special education program. Some educators openly admit that they do not believe that exceptional children can or should be educated in regular classrooms. But most of the resistance stems from long-held attitudes toward exceptionality in general or from pragmatic problems in the operation of an integrated program.

Zand suggests ways in which attitudes can be changed. Perhaps very deliberate efforts are necessary to prepare all the children and adults who will participate in mainstreaming.

Similarly, the resistance based on pragmatic considerations must also be openly confronted. The specifics of this resistance imply the need for adaptations that must concur with or precede mainstreaming. Not to do so dooms mainstreaming to failure.

Successful mainstreaming has specific implications for the training of general educators and special educators (see Bates & West). The training of administrators also will have to be altered. Public school systems that have committed themselves to mainstreaming to any degree must also be willing to make the changes necessary to make the effort successful (see Cook & Morris). Further, mainstreaming calls for a settlement of the conflict between teachers' and students' rights.

Appropriate resolutions of these problems means large-scale reform in both public schools and higher education. Many needed changes, however, would be difficult to implement. In some instances, perhaps large-scale mainstreaming should be delayed while preparations are made that might telp to insure its success. The choice is not whether to mainstream but is much more complex: who, how, when, where, and with what preparation. If at least some special students are going to be educated in regular classes, there must be attitudinal changes, structural alterations, and re-vamping of much of the operation of public schools and teacher and administrative education. It is very likely that some other interests will have to suffer if mainstreaming occurs, which will be reflected in both budgets and contract provisions. But there may be some beneficial results in turn, such as smaller class sizes.

A realistic view of mainstreaming recognizes the wide implications of this concept, illustrated by the current sources of resistance. These cannot be ignored if children are to benefit from mainstreaming.

CHAPTER 8

Mainstreaming: Implications for Public Schools

Lynne Cook & Sharon Morris

Mainstreaming is a controversial topic which has received considerable attention from all sectors of the educational community. The implications of mainstreaming for public schools are of paramount concern because the beliefs, philosophies, and issues that various professional and interest groups advance must be put into practice within the public school setting.

Obviously, all of mainstreaming's implications cannot be adequately addressed in a paper of this length. But we will raise several critical issues and outline some possible strategies for meeting the challenges of mainstreaming in altering personal attitudes, selecting service delivery models, determining organizational and role changes and providing for staff development. We hope that the comments and observations made in this paper will be useful to the school personnel who will participate in mainstreaming in the public schools.

Personal Attitudes

Members of all role groups within the public school community may resist the prospect of integrating handicapped students into the mainstream of education. For various reasons, educators, administrators, students, and parents associated with both regular and special education programs may oppose mainstreaming exceptional students. Their resistance may be directed toward the alteration of educational services, the acceptance of exceptional individuals, or both. These attitudes must become the initial target of any mainstreaming effort. The most carefully planned program with extensive resources and supports for teachers and students will fail at its inception if participants harbor negative attitudes.

Before a system attempts to implement a change of the magnitude of mainstreaming, it should make every effort to develop attitudes in the participants which will be conducive to the change. A public school that wishes to institute a mainstreaming program should recognize and alter, to whatever degree possible, resistant and rejecting attitudes of parents, educators, and students. Minimally, the persons who are part of a mainstreaming program must be aware of their own feelings and must be committed to implement the program and accept the students.

Several factors may contribute to negative attitudes toward mainstreaming. Effective attitude change will begin with an assessment of the extent to which various factors affect attitudes in a specific situation, and appropriate change strategies will be selected on the basis of the assessment. Resistance toward mainstreaming is likely to reflect the lack of clarity of the definition and intent of mainstreaming, a societal perspective of individual differences, and/or limited degrees of personal knowledge, experience, or confidence regarding one's own performance in a situation which integrates handicapped and nonhandicapped students.

Definition and Clarification

Considerable confusion has developed about mainstreaming as a result of the lack of consensus regarding its definition and the students it involves. To reduce resistance to mainstreaming, it is essential to provide a clear definition and to specify the type of students to be mainstreamed.

The most widely accepted definition of mainstreaming is that which the Council for Exceptional Children (CEC) Delegate Assembly adopted in April 1976.

> Mainstreaming is a belief which involves an educational placement procedure and provides for exceptional children, based on the conviction that each child should be educated in the least restrictive environment in which his educational and related needs can be satisfactorily provided. This concept recognizes that exceptional children have a wide range of special educational needs, varying greatly in intensity and duration; that there is a recognized continuum of educational settings which may, at a given time, be appropriate for an individual child's needs; that to the maximum extent appropriate, exceptional children should be educated with non-exceptional children; and that special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of an exceptional child from education with non-exceptional children should occur only when the intensity of the child's special education and related needs is such that they cannot be satisfied in an environment including non-exceptional children, even with the provision of supplmentary aids and services.

The following discussion is applicable to mild exceptionality, regardless of specific labels. The students whose integration into the mainstream of education is considered here are those with mild degrees of mental retardation, emotional disturbance, learning disabilities, and auditory, visual, or other physical impairments.

In our view, any school initiating a mainstreaming program must begin by carefully selecting and integrating those exceptional students who have the greatest potential for succeeding in the mainstream. The challenges that mainstreaming presents the public schools are multitudinous and require new cooperative efforts of everyone involved. Until schools have developed effective processes for mainstreaming and have become experienced with the successful integration of mildly handicapped students, they cannot be expected to provide meaningful mainstream educational experiences for more seriously handicapped students.

Other Sources of Resistant Attitudes

Despite the increasing proclamations of acceptance of individuality in our society, there exists a long legacy of intolerance of individual differences. Our history is full of examples of the types of differential treatment we have afforded individuals who differ in some way from the majority. We have cherished a "golden mean" and relegated to a variety of undesirable circumstances those who do not meet the criteria from our narrowly defined range of normalcy or acceptability. Even cursory attention to the recent histories of such diverse aspects of our culture as mental health services and racial desegregation provides abundant illustrations of our societal reaction to individual differences.

Another factor that undoubtedly contributes to the unaccepting attitude toward exceptional children is the lack of knowledge and experience most people have regarding handicapped individuals. It is not surprising that, in a system that isolates "different" people as ours has done historically, those average individuals who remain in the mainstream have little exposure to or understanding of the segregated groups. The void these people experience in terms of knowledge and experience is quickly filled with misconceptions and myths about the causes and effects of handicapping conditions.

The stereotypes and misconseptions held by educators, parents, and students who are associated with the general educational program must be dispelled if effective mainstreaming is to occur at any level. It is essential that the general educational community be provided with information and experiences which help them to understand better the various handicapping conditions. They need also to be aware of the manner and extent to which an exceptional child is affected by his condition and of the effect of his condition on others.

Basic knowledge should be disseminated to members of the general educational community at several different levels and through various methods. The initial goal of information dissemination should be to raise the consciousness of the general public regarding the existence and needs of handicapped people. Additional knowledge, more specific to the interests in exceptionalities of their role groups, will also need to be provided to parents, educators, and students.

The media's role in influencing public opinion has been recognized by a number of organizations representing the handicapped. Tremendous strides are being made by these organizations to increase public awareness and knowledge of the handicapped through media campaigns. Short television and radio public service messages are presenting accurate information about handicapping conditions. Although the media continue to promote some stereotypes, increasing numbers of film and television industry representatives are making significant contributions to the normalization of exceptionalities by producing programs and scripts that realistically portray the handicapped individual. Many of these tapes and films have been so well written and produced that they are commonly used by professional and parent groups for public consciousness raising and educational purposes.

Materials designed to provide special information to meet the interests of particular role groups in handicapping conditions are also becoming increasingly available. In recent years, hundreds of books have been written to make parents, teachers, and children more aware and understanding of the lives of the handicapped. At least one series of children's books that addresses exceptionality is in print. The New Juvenile Series on the Exceptional Child, published by Human Sciences Press, provides relevant material for adults and children to read and discuss together. These and other books written specifically for children can be valuable resources for teachers or parents who wish to prepare children to interact naturally with exceptional children. We have found local librarians to be especially helpful in suggesting appropriate materials for these purposes.

Teacher-training materials and programs have been developed to provide educators with the basic information and experiences deemed necessary to foster accepting attitudes toward mainstreaming exceptional children. Many of the materials include simulated exercises or games which are designed to enable the participants to experience some of the feelings and situations handicapped individuals face. In our own experience we have found these exercises to be effective in making parents and non-handicapped students more sensitive to the conditions of being handicapped.

Sensitive use of the types of materials and methods presented here should help to produce attitudes of acceptance and to facilitate better understanding of the handicapped persons. The methods and materials are appropriate for use in teacher-training programs, PTA meetings, community groups, and classroom sessions.

Another factor that strongly influences attitudes toward mainstreaming is the fear of many people of the possibility of failure in a mainstreaming program. School staff, aware of their limited training for their new roles, may feel that they do not have the skills necessary to contribute to the effective mainstreaming of exceptional children. Special education students and their parents may have memories of hurtful experiences with the regular educational system and fear that the failures that the special students experienced before will be repeated.

These fearful attitudes are realistic; they are based on the realities of the current educational system. It is highly unlikely that such attitudes can be significantly altered in the absence of an effective mainstreaming program. It is only through successful experiences with mainstreaming that students, staff, and parents can learn to trust and believe that they will benefit from a system that integrates handicapped children into mainstream education. Consequently, the alteration of these attitudes becomes a process to be accomplished in conjunction with a well-planned and implemented mainstreaming program.

Mainstreaming Models

The critical exposure special education services received as a result of Dunn's (1968) analysis, recent litigative action, and legislative changes have stimulated the development of a variety of organizational plans for delivering services to the handicapped. The numerous, proposed alternative systems reflect the discrepancies in the philosophies and positions of professionals regarding the provision of varying degrees of regular educational services to students with varying degrees of exceptionality. Some groups of professionals continue to support the traditional system of educating most exceptional students in special classes. At the other extreme are those who advocate regular class placement for the moderately as well as mildly handicapped (Gearhear & Weishahn, 1976).

It is not the purpose of this paper to debate philosophical arguments or efficacy studies. Rather, this discussion is limited to considering some of the models that have evolved for serving mildly handicapped students in regular classrooms. In keeping with the positions espoused by a number of prominent figures in the field, we advocate an organizational plan that provides a continuum of alternative service options (Deno, 1970; Gearheart & Weishahn, 1976; Reynolds, 1972).

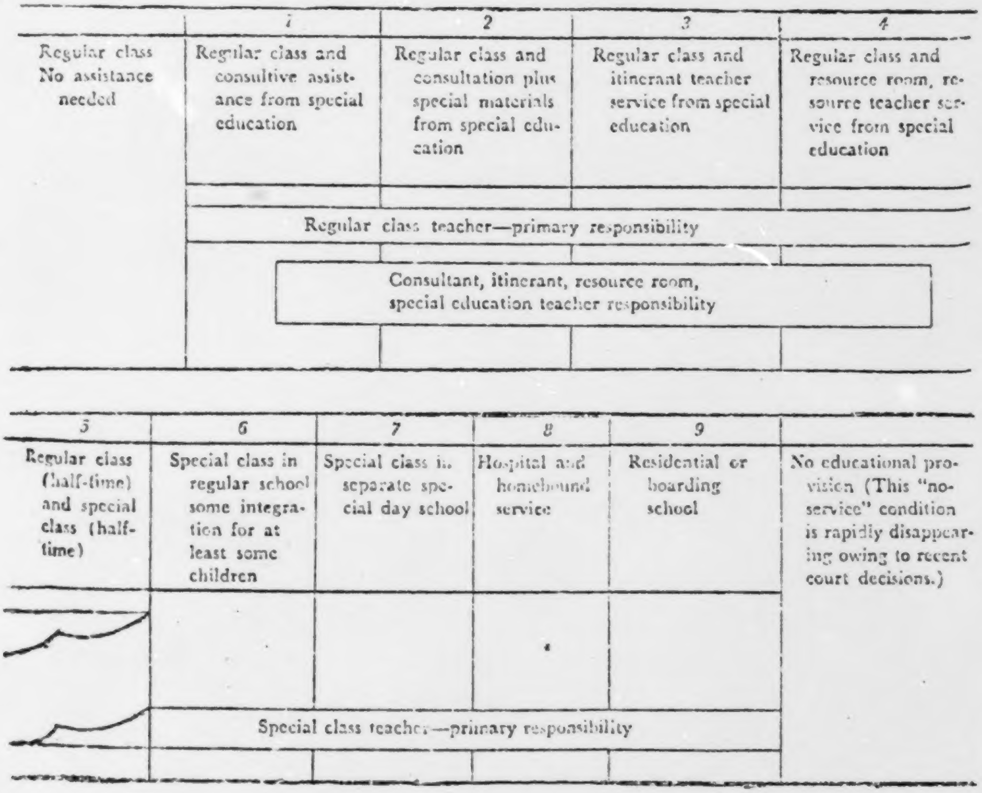
Flexibility, variation, and a wide range of service options are essential to meet the unique needs of students to be served. Traditionally, students have been expected to adapt to school programs and to find ways of meeting their individual needs in a system developed for average members of the group. Increasingly, demands are being made that schools become responsive to the needs of their students and offer programs and services that will meet student needs rather than organizational convenience.

Gearheart and Weishahn (1976) proposed a continuum of services to provide all the services which a student might need throughout his educational experience. They suggested that "a program continuum provides a full spectrum of services that may be tailored to the individual needs of each student at any given time during his educational career."

The Gearheart and Weishahn continuum of alternative educational services for handicapped students (Fig. 1) is included here for two primary reasons. (a) Their continuum seems representative of others in terms of the range and types of services included. (b) Unlike illustrations of other continua, their diagrammatic representation includes the dimension of teacher responsibility that is a critical factor in mainstreaming.

In the Gearheart and Weishahn continuum, as in other continua, individual needs of handicapped students can be met by services ranging from unassisted regular class placement to exclusively special education services. In this schema, the first six plans illustrate the types of services that will be offered in mainstreaming programs for special students. Plans 7, 8, and 9 are designed to provide intensive special education programing for severely or multiply impaired students. The first six plans of the continuum are of interest here.

Plans 1 and 2 of the continuum of services are highly similar. The special student has a full-time placement in the regular classroom and receives no direct service from the special education teacher. This design in much like Lilly's (1971) training-based model; responsibility for a student's program lies with the regular classroom teacher, and the special educator's role is to provide support and material resources to the regular classroom teacher. Similarly, the fail-save model proposed by Adamson and VanEtten (1972) provides for at least 10 weeks of regular classroom placement for the pupil with special education support for the teacher before any alternative placements are sought.


1
2
3
4
Regular class No assistance needed
Regular class and consultive assistance from special education
Regular class and consultation plus special materials from special education
Regular class and itinerant teacher service from special education
Regular class and resource room, resource teacher service from special education
Regular class teacher—primary responsibility
Consultant, itinerant, resource room, special education teacher responsibility
5
6
7
8
9
Regular class (half-time) and special class (half-time)
Special class in regular school some integration for at least some children
Special class in separate special day school
Hospital and homebound service
Residential or boarding school
No educational provision (This "no-service" condition is rapidly disappearing owing to recent court decisions.)
Special class teacher—primary responsibility

*Regular class teacher may (1) assist homebound/hospital teacher, (2) each the child through telephone hookup or electronic equipment, (3) not be involved at all. If child is taught by regular class teacher through electrical-electronic mode, direct and indirect service may be provided by special education.

Fig. 1. A continuum of alternative educational provisions for handicapped children. Source: B. R. Gearheart & M. W. Weishahn. The handicapped child in the regular classroom. St. Louis: Mosby, 1976. Reproduced with permission of the authors and the publisher.

Plans 3 and 4 have a high degree of internal consistency. In both, the handicapped student is the primary responsibility of the regular class teacher; he receives the majority of instruction in the regular class and he receives some direct special education services. In both plans the special education teacher provides direct instructional services to the handicapped student on a regularly scheduled basis, in an area outside of the regular classroom through individual or small-group instruction. Alternatively, the student may receive instruction from special education personnel in the regular classroom through individualized tutoring or with a group of regular classroom peers who have similar needs. The degree and type of service are determined by the needs of the student. The major differences in the two plans, according to Gearheart and Weishahn, lie in the variations of roles performed by special education personnel and the frequency of the services they provide. Plan 3 is an itinerant-teacher plan which is generally adopted in situations in which the full-time services of resource personnel cannot be justified; such services are generally available two or three times a week. Plan 4 is a resource room model that differs from the itinerant teacher plan in that the student probably receives services daily.

Because the two plans are so nearly identical, they are considered here as representing resource teacher plans. Despite the differentiation Gearheart and Weishahn drew on the grounds of school-based or itinerant status, many aspects of the special education roles in Plans 3 and 4 are the same; in both, special educators are resources for the mainstreamed student and the regular classroom teacher.

Perhaps a more important distinction should be made on the basis of the amount of direct service the resource personnel provide students and the amount of supportive and consultative service they provide regular classroom teachers. When resource teacher models are carried on in applied settings, considerable variations occur in the ratio of services provided instructional staff to services afforded students (Chaffin, 1974).

Many mainstreaming models are compatible with the concept of shared staff responsibility in Plans 3 and 4. The diagnostic prescriptive teacher model put forth by Prouty and McGarry (1971) is one example. In their model, the resource person, a diagnostic-prescriptive teacher, observes the referred student in his regular classroom, confers with the referring teacher, and conducts diagnostic teaching sessions with the student to determine the most appropriate materials and strategies for his needs. The diagnostic-prescriptive teacher then prepares an educational prescription, discusses and modifies the plan with the referring teacher, and conducts demonstrations of aspects of the prescription within the context of the referring teacher's classroom. The diagnostic-prescriptive teacher continues to offer instructional support and demonstration teaching to the classroom teacher until both feel that the student's successful progress warrants closing the case.

Variations of the diagnostic prescriptive teaching model operate on similar premises and are included in the generic resource teacher model. As Chaffin found (1974), the way the resource teacher model functions "varies from building to building depending upon the administration of the building, the needs and attitudes of the regular classroom teachers, and the nature of the school population" (p. 7).

In Plans 5 and 6 of the Gearheart and Weishahn continuum, the amount of time a student spends in the regular classroom depends upon his individual level of readiness and ability to benefit from such placement. Plan 5 is somewhat similar to the resource teacher plan insofar as both the special education teacher and the regular classroom teacher are responsible for the exceptional student's educational program. The primary differences between the resource teacher plan and this cooperative plan are that the special class is the student's home room and the amount of time he spends in the mainstream varies according to what the teachers believe will profit him. As Fig. 1 suggests, under this plan some handicapped students may spend as much as half of their school day in the mainstream. It is to this plan that educators probably refer when they claim to have been "mainstreaming for years."

Mildly handicapped students participating in Plan 6 are probably not being mainstreamed. Plan 6 describes the traditional self-contained special education class in a regular classroom setting. The student's educational program is primarily, if not entirely, conducted in the special education class, and he has very little interaction with the educational mainstream. This plan is included here because in some cases it allows handicapped students to begin to enter the mainstream. Students in self-contained classes are likely to attend schoolwide functions and, in some cases, they may begin the process for progressive inclusion in vocational and physical education classes in the general education program. This strategy may be the most successful one to employ when considering the mainstreaming of a mildly handicapped student who has been segregated in special education for a long period of time. It allows him gradually to learn how to succeed in the mainstream without removing the security and familiarity of his special education environment.

Inservice Training

There is no question that providing valuable learning experiences for mildly handicapped students in the mainstream of general education requires the extensive retraining of members of the educational professions. Regardless of the service delivery model adopted, mainstreaming necessitates that educators in various roles demonstrate different if not new levels of skills.

The plans which have been developed to prepare inservice educators to mainstream exceptional students successfully vary according to the type and extent of the training they advocate as well as the processes through which the proposed professional training is to be delivered.

The professional development of regular education teachers is so critical to the implementation of mainstreaming that it has become a focal point of many models of delivering services to handicapped students (Christie, McKenzie, and Burdett, 1975; Lilly, 1971; Meisgier, 1971; and Shaw and Shaw, 1971). The retraining of special education teachers and administrators to enable them to meet the challenges of their new roles is an equally critical issue. Specialized training for supportive and supplementary personnel has not, however, received so much consideration. Some plans include administrators and special educators in the training experiences that are provided for regular educators (Erickson, 1971); others outline specific plans to attend to their professional growth needs (Christie, McKenzie, & Burdett, 1975; Meisgeier, 1971; Prouty & McGarry, 1971). To a large extent, however, the training offered to members of these critical role groups is limited.

TRAINING REGULAR CLASSROOM TEACHERS THROUGH SPECIAL EDUCATION CONSULTATION

There is general consensus that special educators should play a role in providing inservice training experiences to regular educators. To varying degrees, most writers on the subject agree that, through consultation, special education teachers can contribute to the regular classroom teacher's skills in teaching exceptional students.

In some models, special education consultation is entirely oriented toward the professional growth of regular classroom teachers (Christie, McKenzie, & Burdett, 1975; Lilly, 1971; Shaw & Shaw, 1971). The special education consultant provides no direct service to students unless that service has concrete training utility for the classroom teacher. The mainstreamed student remains in the regular classroom throughout the day with the classroom teacher assuming responsibility for his instructional program and management. The consultant may guide the teacher through such processas as diagnosis, educational planning, behavior analysis, remedial instruction, and evaluation. The ultimate goal of this type of consultation is "the enhancing of classroom teachers' skills to the point that problem situations in the classroom can be handled adequately by the individual teacher without resorting to complex (or even simple) networks of outside support service" (Lilly, 1971, p. 746).

In other models, special education is meant to operate as a supportive and supplemental service as well as a vehicle for retraining teachers (Adamson & VanEtten, 1972; Chaffin, 1974; Meisgeier, 1971; and Prouty & McGarry, 1971). Although these plans support the premise that the skill levels of general educators will be increased through consultation, they provide more diagnostic and prescriptive assistance to the teacher. The special education consultant is generally responsible for securing evaluative data on a referred student, completing diagnostic procedures, and preparing an educational plan in conjunction with the classroom teacher and other possible team members. Through consultation, observation and feedback, and/or demonstration, the consultant assists the classroom teacher to implement the educational plan effectively, thus contributing to the teacher's skill development.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

Professional development centers have been proposed as a means of providing special education skill development programs for inservice educators. Meisgeier (1971, 1974) described a comprehensive plan in Houston, Texas, for the districtwide retraining of instructional and supportive personnel through a professional development center. The plan called for the rotation of teams of educators through the center's training program where they learned to use specialized methods and materials. During the training sequence at the center, the trainee received 5 days of systematic, modular instruction, 4 days of classroom consultation with the training staff, and 3 days of instruction in additional content. At the completion of the training sequence, each teacher established classroom operations that "will be providing their school faculties with the instructional models necessary for the success of the handicapped child in the mainstream" (Meisgeier, 1971, p. 142). Long-range goals for the retraining effort aimed at cycling every teacher in the district through the center.

In a similar vein, several Regional Special Education Instructional Materials Centers (SEIMCs) have cooperated with other agencies in offering an institute approach to inservice training in special education skills (Erickson, 1971). The differences between the SEIMCs institute plan and a district-level staff-development-center approach appear to be based on the sizes of the geographic regions they serve. The SEIMCs cooperate with agencies within state and regional areas to provide training to instructional teams for school districts. Possible composition of a district's team might be an administrator, consultant, or supervisor; two regular class teachers; a special education teacher; and two aides. The teams are then expected, with assistance from agencies cooperating with the SEIMCs, to serve as instructional models and possibly to provide similar training to other personnel in the district.

CHAPTER 9

The Implications of Mainstreaming for Nonwhite Children

Janet McLaughlin-Williams

Children in special education vary physically, psychologically, and/or academically from society's "norm." In addition to these differences, exceptional non-white children vary socially and culturally from white children, handicapped or normal. If, as Birch (1974) stated, "mainstreaming is providing high-quality special education to exceptional children while they remain in regular classes for as much of the day as possible," then one must consider ethnic and cultural aspects when mainstreaming a nonwhite child.

Mainstreaming can become a force for the valuing of individual differences, a process to foster acceptance of varying physical, psychological, educational, and racial characteristics, and a futuristic model to celebrate variance as a desirable state. Mainstreaming can be likened to a tributary flowing into a river: Some portions are smooth and placid; others are swift and contain rapids, protuberances, and obstacles; and still others are so difficult passage is tenuous and uncertain, perhaps impossible. If the special education tributary is eventually to flow into the educational mainstream, all barriers must be removed.

Some critical factors that must be examined for their implications for nonwhite special children are;

A. Staff Attitudes
B. Placement Procedures
C. Curriculum
D. Preparation of Parents
E. Preparation of Peers
F. Preparation of the Non-White Special Child
G. Implementation Procedure

Staff Attitudes

Each institution in our society establishes its own policies and practices. Historically, many of these policies and practices affect nonwhite people inequitably. Consequently, it is imperative that staff who will be involved with the nonwhite special child have a knowledge and understanding of institutional racism, how it affects education, generally, and special education, specifically. Staff includes all school personnel, white or nonwhite, certified or noncertified, who interact with the nonwhite special child.

Many questions ought to be asked when one inventories the possible existence of racism in special education. Some of them are as follows:

1. Who determines the criteria that define the diagnostic categories of special education (Learning Disabilities, Emotionally Imapired, Educably Mentally Retarded, etc.)?
2. Whose values determine the standards and practices of special education?
3. Who controls the sources of funding for programs in special education?
4. Who determines which children are placed into which schools, programs, or classes?
5. Who makes decisions for hiring and/or firing school personnel? What criteria are used?

"White, middle class people" is the answer to each of the questions. Although the control does not happen through any intentional acts of the masses of white people, the results are the same. Many categories within special education are based upon standards of behavior and achievement that are most common and familiar to white people.

Terry (1970) developed a Personal Racism Matrix that categorizes racist and antiracist behaviors. He suggested that the only effective way to confront institutional racism is through behavior that is actively antiracist.

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
RACIST	1.	2.
ANTI-RACIST	4.	3.

The implications for special education and for mainstreaming nonwhite children are numerous.

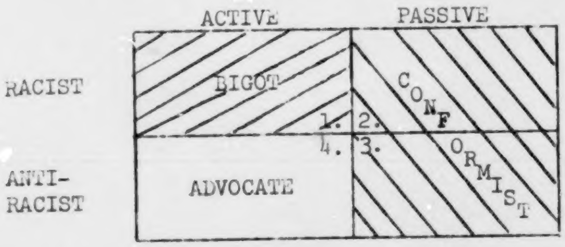
In box one, Active Racist educators are relatively east to define; their attitudes are consistent with their actions or behaviors. They verbally acknowledge such beliefs as the genetic and biological inferiority of nonwhite special children. They advocate standardized intelligence testing as adequate and routine placement procedures while they oppose the development of culturally fair tests. They regard the higher percentages of nonwhite children in special education classes as the natural result of those children's disadvantages or deprived economic or social status. They oppose the mainstreaming of nonwhite children for all sorts of reasons that may appear logical and reasonable but, in fact, are racist. These people can be described as bigots.

The Passive Racist educators, in box two, have beliefs similar to those of the Active Racist, but they act them out in a subdued, passive manner. Although they may not overtly condone standardized intelligence testing, they administer such "diagnostic" instruments to all children. They would not object to categorizing a disproportionate number of nonwhite students as emotionally impaired or educable mentally retarded. They might quietly seek employment in districts where the mainstreaming of nonwhite special children is infrequent. These people are followers or conformists.

In box three, the Passive Antiracist educator believes in justice for all children, and in the worthiness of human beings. This person may be upset by the racial injustices he/she sees and hears about in special education but he will not publicly discuss such beliefs. This person is also a conformist, in the sense that racist issues are not confronted. It is important to note that boxes two and three make up our national (professional) silent majority.

Only box four, the Active Antiracist educator, talks to others about the effects of racism upon the mainstreaming movement. This person actively points out that the use of stereotypes while working with nonwhite special children and their parents may indicate racism. This person actively seeks new, culturally fair ways of diagnosing and assessing children. The Active Anti-Racist educator works on committees and in organizations that are combating discrimination in special education placement, curriculum, and staffing patterns.

In terms of actual effects, Terry's matrix might look like this:



Boxes one and four are the areas in which people are willing to take high risks, while boxes two and three are areas of considerable less risk. By risk is meant the possibility of encountering disapproval for one's beliefs or actions. Disapproval can take many forms, such as loss of employment, friendships, money, promotions, or chairmanships.

Staff members need to develop an awareness of their own prejudices or racist values, as well as of their stereotypical thinking. For example, do white teachers recognize that their well-meaning efforts to become color-blind and to view the nonwhite special child like any other special child may be denying that child an essential part of what he/she is? In their conscientious desire to show others that the nonwhite special child can learn just like others, do nonwhite educators consider, realistically, the abilities or inabilities of each child? During staffings, can white professionals understand that the attitudes and behaviors of some nonwhite parents indicate a lack of experience at such meetings rather than apathy or indifference? Will the staff automatically expect less of nonwhite special students than of white special students with the same ability? Will the presence of special students conjure up additional feelings of pity, for example, because the students are disabled AND Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian, or the like? Mandatory inservice experiences designed to heighten staff awareness of the effects of racism and to provide leadership training to combat those effects should be available. Individuals should know the difference between advocacy of the "melting pot" vs. "multiculturalism." Each must understand the difference between paternalism and independence, between personal ownership of a problem versus blaming the victim (Ryan, 1971).

Staffs also must have the skills necessary to achieve maximum communication flow between and among whites and nonwhites. They must have a commitment to understanding the affective as well as cognitive implications of serving a nonwhite special child's needs. Some very skilled staff have optimum levels of expertise in a given content area but are unable to assist the emotional adjustment of a nonwhite special child in a regular classroom setting. Can we realistically and adequately determine who the appropriate receiving staff should be, and wisely guide the nonwhite special child into that placement?

Do the staff members desire to implement the mainstreaming concept successfully or are they merely putting up with a new idea or policy statement? It is crucial that the staff regard the placement of a nonwhite special child in a regular classroom as an asset rather than a liability.

Placement Procedures

Numverous articles have been written about the disadvantages of standardized intelligence and psychological tests for nonwhite children. In her 1976 address to the Michigan Council for Exceptional Children, Mercer (1976) referred to standardized testing procedures as being culturally specific because they are standardized on and ask questions about experiences most familiar to white middle-class students. Since these instruments are most often used clinically to determine a child's innate ability, achievement, or psychological state, nonwhite children are at a decided disadvantage.

Gunnings (1972) offered some information about several well-known standardized tests:

> --The WISC (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children) was standardized in 1950 on white children.
>
> --The Stanford Binet, when it was restandardized in 1960, did not take into account ethnic group differences.
>
> --The Marianne Frostig Developmental Test was standardized prior to 1963 using white middle-class children from Southern California as subjects.

Mercer further remarked,

> Simply translating the content of a test designed for persons socialized in one culture into the language of another culture does not eradicate the cultural differences. Persons from backgrounds other than the culture in which the test was developed will always be penalized. It is difficult to interpret the meanings of IQs when this is the case. (1976)

Her recommended approach is to assess children, using a pluralistic evaluation, and to compare and view each individual within his/her own sociocultural background (Mercer, 1972).

There are especially highly disproportionate numbers of nonwhite children in the categories of emotionally impaired and educably mentally retarded, as can be seen in compilation (Table 1) by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR). One reason that nonwhite children are placed in special education in higher percentages than would be expected, compared to their actual numbers in the total population, is inappropriate testing. Another reason is inappropriate teacher expectations. Educators determine "behavior problems," "disruptive behavior," or "mental retardation" largely on the basis of their own perceptions of acceptable and unacceptable behavior. This practice is understandable. Nonwhite pupils are also disadvantaged if teachers (white or nonwhite) have adopted middle-class values and norms. Just as beauty exists in the eye of the beholder, so disruptive or unacceptable behavior, or below-normal achievement, often exists in the eye of the educator. Although there has been much discussion about the need for accurate criteria when using terms such as "culturally deprived" and "socially disadvantaged," there has been little real increased valuing of differences or variances (Rhodes, 1975).

Are special educators trying to "melt" children into the mainstream much as many people would like ethnically different groups to be assimilated into the American melting pot? Is it possible to view nonwhite special children as emotionally impaired AND Asian, or as visually impaired AND Native-American? If placement procedures consider all aspects of the nonwhite special child, this view will be accomplished.

Curriculum

When nonwhite special children are mainstreamed, will they experience a

Table 1

Participation of Black Students in EMR Programs

for

25 Cities with a Black Population of 50,000 or more*

CITY	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	BLACKS ENROLLED IN EMR PROGRAMS	PERCENTAGE OF EMR PROGRAM ENROLLMENT
New York	1,666,636	403,907	37%	4,460	46%
Chicago	1,102,620	312,188	58%	9,915	75%
Detroit	660,420	184,975	70%	3,971	83%
Philadelphia	653,791	164,645	61%	447	75%
Washington	537,712	129,240	96%	87	100%
Los Angeles	503,606	155,132	25%	2,995	56%
Baltimore	420,210	127,657	70%	6,896	82%
Houston	316,551	89,329	41%	1,191	61%
Cleveland	287,841	79,027	57%	2,468	70%
Atlanta	255,051	71,786	82%	2,616	90%
Memphis	242,513	81,456	68%	571	69%
Dallas	210,238	62,763	41%	642	56%
Newark	207,458	55,460	72%	1,176	81%
Indianapolis	134,320	37,963	41%	1,456	62%
Birmingham	126,388	33,680	62%	531	71%
Cincinnati	125,070	35,940	49%	1,408	58%
Oakland	124,710	37,819	62%	1,118	84%
Kansas City	112,005	34,677	56%	1,153	70%
Milwaukee	105,088	30,498	31%	1,236	50%
Pittsburgh	104,904	28,979	42%	1,419	61%
Richmond	104,766	30,015	73%	659	85%
Boston	104,707	31,963	34%	397	44%
Columbus	99,627	31,201	31%	1,172	43%
San Francisco	94,078	23,791	31%	574	59%
Buffalo	94,329	25,812	43%	940	64%

SOURCE: 1970 Census; OCR Special Education Analysis, 1973 Survey; OCR Internal Directory, 1973 Survey curriculum that is multicultural? Or will they quickly learn, as their nonwhite regular classmates have, that the textbooks are predominantly focused upon the white experience, and based upon white historical data written by white authors? It would be ideal if all children in the United States could learn from textbooks that demonstrate respect for the cultural heritage and abilities of all students. White and nonwhite students both suffer from a "data deficit" (Williams, 1975).

Williams (1975) wrote that the identification of a contribution to a society (C), plus the perceived status or importance of the contribution (S), equals feelings of worth (W), or, C+S=W. Nonwhite children seldom see this concept applied to nonwhite people, in either print or illustrations. The concept is not a regular part of the total school curriculum. Children are led to believe that nonwhite Americans contributed little, if anything, to the development of this country.

Another data deficit is that children seldom see illustrations of special children in classroom materials. How many texts show students using wheelchairs, artificial limbs, eyepatches, hearing aids, or braces on the school playground? Few texts offer stories about physically or mentally impaired children or their families. Some do, granted, but how many of those are about the typical, everyday, exceptional person rather than the glorified, fairy tale-like stories of people who "rise above" their handicaps? And, more important for this discussion, how many, if any, of those special people are of varying ethnic backgrounds? Finally, are they portrayed as people with dignity, in leadership roles, and possessing the more distinctive physical traits of their respective ethnic groups (Williams, 1975)?

Children need positive models to assist them to develop positive self-concepts and feelings of importance and worth. [illegible]s crucial for the regular and special child, white and nonwhite, to have a wide range of cultures and abilities sanctioned in all school curricular materials.

Preparation of Parents

It is important that parents participate in the educational process. How will parents of nonwhite children be prepared for the re-entry procedure? Several years ago, special and regular educators were trying to convince nonwhite parents that special class placement would benefit their child; now, a different approach is being attempted. Will parents fully understand the dynamics involved, the reasons for the change of philosophy? Or will they, justifiably so, see the entire process as circular, one that removes their child from a regular class setting only to reenter her/him again at a later date?

Federal and state laws mandate the participation of parents in planning programs for their children. Systematic and complete supportive services should be available for parents of children who are mainstreamed. Parents will want to know their rights. For nonwhite parents, additional information concerning U.S. constitutional rights for nonwhite children in public schools should be available. Parents should be informed about the process of filing grievances if placement does not meet the needs of their children.

Many parents, especially nonwhite, may need assistance coping with typical professional meetings. They may need additional aid in clarifying test results. Many will require bilingual services from a district. Are there built-in processes by which nonwhite parents can make their feelings and thoughts known?

Staffs must have realistic, nonracist attitudes toward the issues that must be considered in working with nonwhite parents. Approaches must go beyond stereotypic ideas about nonwhite family life, living conditions, and attitudes toward work and school.

Preparation of Peers

The success of failure of the entire mainstreaming venture depends mostly upon the atmosphere in the regular classroom that will receive the special child. The placement of nonwhite special children will be affected by the attitudes of white children, who represent the majority view. If white children are displeased, be assured that white parents will protest the movement toward mainstreaming, and it will be doomed.

Children in the regular classroom must view the inclusion of a nonwhite special child as an exciting, worthwhile adventure, one that is mutually binding, and one in which they will be the recipient of as much growth as the entering child. They must understand why a special child may require extra assistance from them and/or their teacher and others. They can be helped to think of experiences with the child as valuable.

If any white children have strong feelings about nonwhite peers, they must be considered and thoroughly discussed prior to the nonwhite special child's entry. Perhaps nonwhite regular students will have some feelings of resentment toward a member of their ethnic group who is viewed as either "more special" or "more inferior" than themselves. Whatever the thoughts and feelings of the children in the regular classroom, they must be dealt with directly, honestly, and completely by teachers.

Regular education children should know the purposes and goals of mainstreaming. They should be aware of the attitudes necessary to make mainstreaming a worthwhile alternative. They may be further assisted by knowing some of the historical background of special education, including the treatment of nonwhites and the beginnings of the mainstreaming concept. Children in the regular classroom should have the opportunity to participate in the decision to include the nonwhite special child in their room. They should have an understanding of the entering child's limitations in terms of mental ability and/or physical activity. Most important, they should also be aware of the various strengths possessed by the new student.

The process of preparing the regular classroom pupils should not be left to chance or inference. Adequate time for discussion of all children's thoughts and feelings should be allowed. Peers should be as ready as possible for the arrival of the nonwhite special child.

Preparation of the Nonwhite Special Education Child

The entering special child must be as comfortable as he/she can be from the very beginning of the mainstreaming process. It is no different for the nonwhite special child. He/she should be prepared for the realities of the regular classroom, which includes an accurate idea of the social and academic expectations.

If the nonwhite special child is reluctant to leave his/her present situation, staff should assist the child in expressing and resolving such feelings. Has the child known only classroom groupings with children who have similar impairments? Has the child ever been in a racially integrated setting? Are people paying attention to the child's feelings about being placed in a regular classroom, as well as to the academic aspects of the move? Will special children be able to continue to develop some of the leadership potential they were encouraged to express in the special class, or will they be expected to follow physically or psychologically their able peers? How does the child feel about leaving a rather homogeneous grouping and entering a heterogeneous grouping?

Is the child aware of some of the potential conflicts in the regular classroom arising from his/her ethnic differences as well as special educational differences? Does the child demonstrate the ability to ask for needed help? Is the child experiencing undue pressure to succeed in this new place? Does the child have a relationship with the present teacher and peers that can be sustained during the transition, if not longer? For example, does the child understand the scheduling, if the placement is for only specific parts of each day? Has the nonwhite special child been involved in various integral steps and decisions along the way, if at all possible? Will the child be returning to a situation out of which he/she was referred to special education in the first place?

All these, and many more, questions warrant careful consideration to insure optimum adjustment for the nonwhite special child.

Implementation Procedure

Will mainstreaming be written into the annals of special education as a passing fancy, an unrealistic ideal, or a panacea? Will staff be hurried and harassed by mandates, laws, deadlines, finances, and guilt? Or, ideally, will professionals refuse to execute a plan until all aspects of the nonwhite special child's placement have been considered? Will attention be given to the child's nonwhite as well as special educational needs?

All staff, including the school psychologist, regular and special teachers and administrators, social worker, school secretary, and custodians, must understand their roles in the entire mainstreaming process, especially in the cultural appreciation process for the nonwhite special child. All should follow a well thought out, adequately planned and staffed procedure for implementing the regular class entry. Support systems, which are sensitive to racial, physical, and psychological issues, should be developed prior to mainstreaming any nonwhite child in the event that conflicts and misunderstandings occur.

These procedures do not imply that staff should be motionless while considering the pros and cons of implementing a given plan for a child. It means that it takes time to determine the most appropriate procedure to follow. These procedures should provide as close to an ideal environment as possible, for everyone involved. It means being oriented to prevention as opposed to crisis.

Last, are the people and the environment ready? If mainstreaming procedures are not appropriate, the child will ultimately suffer the most serious consequences because he is the most vulnerable. Special and regular educators will be talking about humane policies and ideas while acting inhumanely. One must rule out the possibility that mainstreaming will be unsuccessful because of poor attitudes, or lack of appropriate planning.

Mainstreaming has the potential for increasing peoples' tolerance for variance in many areas. It can be as successful as its implementors allow. It can also become another bandwagon, a panacea, accompanied by fresh but meaningless jargon, well-meaning but ineffective staffs, and innovative but inappropriate programs. The role of an advocate for nonwhite children in the special educational mainstreaming process will not be a simple one. But then, it never has been.

CHAPTER 10

The Implications of Mainstreaming for Teacher Education

Terry West & Percy Bates

Mainstreaming challenges both regular and special educators. There is a challenge in reformulating the training process but the greater challenge resides in mainstreaming's demand for the reappraisal of our values. It tests our identities as specialists, our skills as trainers, and it brings to trial the depth of our concern for children. We may argue the propriety of placing exceptional children in regular classes; we may question the desirability of change for childern and their teachers; we may even quibble over territorial disputes between our disciplines. Yet we must realize that in acquiescing to the persuasions and incentives that foster mainstreaming, we have forfeited the luxury of forethought. Mainstreaming is upon us--not as a proposal for consideration but as a daily reality for children, exceptional and normal alike. Fortunately, most teacher educators are realists. They know that the "ivory-tower" results in ineffective teachers, and that the cost of ineffective teaching is borne by children. Herein lies the motivation to understand mainstreaming.

Our thesis in this chapter is that mainstreaming requires a reconceptualization of the teacher-training process, one based upon recognition of the interactive nature of the educational community and upon an end to the antagonisms and animosities that have plagued special and general education. We do not engage in the polemics of an advocacy vs. adversary position, but neither do we claim objectivity: ours is a pro-, though qualified, mainstreaming position. We perceive mainstreaming to be a unifying force, one which we trust special and general educators will consciously bend to the benefit of all children.

Reconciliation of General and Special Education

The foundations of divisiveness run deep. The status quo in public education has been the separation of variant and typical children, special and classroom teachers, and special and general teacher education. The premise of the special class was that two types of education were necessary because there were two types of children--normal and abnormal. Although we cloak the assumption of "abnormality" in the garb of "exceptionality," we fool no one, least of all children. Having assumed that children were different and had different needs, it was a small step to the separation of general and special training programs. Society is beginning to adopt a more open conception of human capacities which recognizes the instrinsic value of variability among individuals and rejects the concept of the norm as an ideal, and deviation from the norm as a deficiency.

In most institutions there is little or no connection between special and general programs. In a few special education departments, the philosophy is that special educators should have some training as general educators. Whether or not special educators require general education training, general educators have had no reason for requiring special education training because classroom teachers were not expected to teach exceptional children.

The barrier between special and general education has been reinforced by the belief that their functions differ. Traditionally, the purpose of education has been viewed from an economic perspective: Education prepares children and adults to fill existing social slots that have economic utility. From the economic perspective, education is vocational training. Joyce (1975) observed that there are other perspectives but that the economic conception of man "forms the backdrop against which competing alternatives vie for attention" (p. 112).

The basic goal of special education is the maximization of human potential. Some special educators have attempted to represent self-actualization as economically valuable. However, as Deno (1972) stated,

> ...this line of argument is mainly a rationalization which provides the legislator with "responsible" public justification for doing what he was sympathetically inclined to do anyway. (p. 2)

The economic orientation has little relevance for special education. From its cost-accounting, efficiency-in-productivity viewpoint, the economic return for educating exceptional children hardly warrants the investment. This perspective is more appropriate for repairing defective machinery than for educating divergent children. Deno (1972) argued that "education for handicapped individuals has been undertaken for humanistic reasons...society is best served by its investment in help for the handicapped precisely because its payoff is in humanitarian, not economic, consequences" (p. 2).

It would appear on first examination that the philosophical underpinnings of special and general education are irresolvably dissimilar, but they are not as radically incompatible as some might conjecture. Both programs draw upon literature and research in pedagogy, both teach basic concepts in human learning and development, both are concerned with teaching their students to survive in the public schools, and, most important, both train students to teach children.

Two frameworks are gradually replacing the economic conception: humanistic and competency-based teacher education. Both approaches are compatible with the basic goals of special education.

The humanistic perspective is characterized as "...a focus on the uniqueness and dignity of the individual [which] leads to an idiosyncratic conception of teaching and learning...and an emphasis on empathetic, almost personal relationships between equals" (Joyce, 1975, p. 139). Clearly, this approach is most congruent with special education. Emphasis on the unique contribution of each individual to his/her training sets the tone for acceptance of human diversity and awareness of individual rights and responsibilities.

The competency-based orientation is also compatible with special education, despite some notable philosophical disagreements between this perspective and the humanistic one. The proponents of competency-based training believe that "...teaching is not an intuitive art but is composed of discernible patterns of behavior the dimensions of which can be productively changed through training" (Joyce, 1975, p. 137). Compatibility with special education is less in terms of goals than methodology. Task analysis, goal specification, and reinforcement strategies are techniques that have high applicability in many areas of special education.

Teacher educators tend to identify with one or the other of these three camps. However, eclecticism is the reality in training programs. Programs prepare novice teachers to fill an economic role. The same programs are concerned with the personal, interpersonal, and stylistic aspects of the teaching process and with methodological and motivational techniques. Training is a holistic enterprise because children are holistic entities. General and special education programs strive to prepare competent and humane and employable graduates.

Another point of compatibility between special and general education is individualization. Special education, with its necessary emphasis on individual differences, broad heterogeneity of performance across the various disability areas, and relatively small class sizes, has operated in a predominantly individualized mode from its inception. General education has larger class sizes and more homogeneous performance levels, and has traditionally found methods based on group processes to be most efficient. Educators have been aware for at least 50 years of the psychological literature that supports individualization. The problem has been not disagreement with the value of individualization but the feasibility of implementing individualized programs in large-group settings. According to Eash (1975), technology currently exists to resolve this problem.

> The educational literature is strewn with plans that were developed on a small scale but were not able to be generalized to mass education. Only in the last decade has research and development produced sufficient technology to bring individualized instruction into the realm of possibility for large numbers of students and for total school systems. (p. 1)

Now that the technology exists, there is a pronounced movement toward the development and adoption of individualized instruction in general education. In a recent publication of the National Society for the Study of Education that reviewed developments in individualization, it was found that some of the current efforts in this area "appear to rise above faddism" (Talmage, 1975, p. viii). These developments hold forth the promise of a day when every child, whether exceptional or not, can have an individually tailored curriculum focusing on his idiosyncratic needs.

As a society, we are beginning to recognize that human diversity and variability is an asset, not a liability. In a world in which change is the order of the day, any organization composed of a homogeneous cluster of conformists must surely have a lower probability of having the resources to meet new challenges as they arise. This trend toward valuing diversity reinforces the inclusion of variant children in regular classrooms. It also encourages the development of more open models of education. General and special educators are both exploring the open education option. Knoblock (1973), for example, advocated this perspective in the education of emotionally disturbed children. "Open education speaks to the basic humanity in everyone. It recognizes the growth potential residing in each person as he moves toward his goal of self-realization" (p. 53). The mutual exploration of open education offers another point of commonality in the new relation between special and general education.

Training is not an activity that takes place only in a university. Teacher education is inextricably bound to the public schools. Each year, approximately 10 percent of the nation's teachers participate in the training of pre-service teachers. Field experiences constitute one-third of a student's professional training.

> ...every investigation of the preservice education of teachers indicated that the single most powerful intervention in a teacher's professional preparation is the student teaching period....
>
> The public schools and their adjunct teacher education faculty are central to the process of educating teachers today even though they are typically related only tangentially in an organizational sense. (Clark & Marker, 1975, pp. 62, 64)

Although the public schools have been willing to cooperate with training programs thus far, all too often teacher training is an enterprise only marginally connected to the schools. "The student teaching program is generally a low-cost expedient instructional effort" (Clark & Marker, 1975, p. 62).

One manifestation of the lack of concern is in the supervision of practica. Supervision is typically assigned to a university faculty member who then serves as a supervisor not to the pre-service trainee, but to an advanced degree student who is himself learning about teacher education. The student's teaching experience is often perceived by supervising teachers, trainees, and trainers alike as terminal practice teaching--an activity performed by trainees as a demonstration of their competence, and the final test before certification. Many supervising teachers believe that training per-service individuals is part of their professional responsibility.

Certainly, no teacher accepts students with a view toward the token payment training programs offer, but many supervising teachers value trainees simply as "extra hands" available to assist them in the performance of their teaching duties.

Educators now recognize the immense training potential of the field experience for trainees, and they employ the field-based approach to training. This approach involves teaching coursework conjointly with ongoing field experiences. These courses frequently are taught at field sites and, sometimes, include participation from practicing professionals.

The movement to mainstream exceptional children is supported by the trends in general and special education toward a more open conception of human potential and recognition of the rights of all children to high-quality education. Although prior arrangements did not require general educators to teach exceptional children, mainstreaming mandates that the educational needs of these children be met regardless of convenience or cost. Campatibilities in philosophical orientations, the trend toward individualization for all children, mutual exploration of open education, and field-based education and its implications for a revised relationship with the public schools are some of the many dimensions that may serve as a common basis for a new relation between general and special education training programs.

Education as an Interactive Total System

Mainstreaming has profound implications for teacher education. As Clarke (1971) remarked, "Teaching is a complex activity and teacher education is likely to be even more complex" (p. 120). Given the increase in complexity which the movement holds for the schools, it should not be surprising that mainstreaming adds another dimension of complexity to teacher preparation.

Although mainstreaming necessitates training students in special and general education to teach exceptional children, there remain essential differences in the roles for which these students train. Classroom teachers serve the needs of nonexceptional and exceptional children. Consequently, they must be trained in their usual skills, knowledge, and attitudes and, additionally, in the competencies teaching atypical children require. We believe that mainstreaming requires that teachers be provided with supportive services. They should include the assistance of a helping teacher whose expertise continues to focus on exceptionality. On the other hand, helping teachers must be trained in both intervention and consultation skills. We do not believe that it is possible to train special and general educators in the same programs. Distinct but cooperatively functioning training sequences still will be necessary. Both training programs now find themselves in the position of developing all that they did previously, plus new competencies for mainstreaming. We believe that mainstreaming will work to the advantage of exceptional children, nonexceptional children, and classroom teachers. Yet we recognize that it adds complexity to an already complex task. If the training period could be extended over an additional year, or if a significant portion of the current program content could be abandoned, then many problems would be solved. However, few students would willingly extend their training for an extra year and fewer teacher educators could justify abandoning much present content.

Another problem that training programs inevitably confront is that of locating or developing field sites appropriate to training needs. In some instances, programs may be located in communities which are not mainstreamed or, if they claim to be, are not providing the classroom teacher with the supports we believe are essential.

Limited resources, constraints on the length of the training period, the need to maintain current content, and the potential unavailability of appropriate training sites, are factors which must be taken into consideration in revising training programs. On first examination, problems may appear impossible to resolve. Fortunately, a potential source of resolution is implicit in the cooperation of the university, the school system, and the community.

It is our observation that the most relevant view of mainstreaming in the schools and of training for mainstreaming in the university is as a total system composed of three systems in a maximally cooperative relation: the university, the schools, and the community. Trippe (1971) commented,

> Training is necessary but not apart from the requirements of specific service programs. Training programs must often emphasize what is needed to assume a particular professional role. Specific service programs often require highly unique skills in particular areas for the service to be effective. To achieve maximum results, both should be tied together. (p. 38)

The conception of education as a total system requires teacher educators to abandon their myopic view of training programs as entities separate from the schools. The total-system perspective envisions education as an extended unit composed of three interactive subsystems: the university, the school system, and the community (Figure 1). When the prior fragmented world view is replaced with this more useful holistic one, it becomes apparent that changes in one subsystem will impact on other subsystems. Mainstreaming is specifically an administrative arrangement in the school system, but it affects the community and the university. Change has a ripple effect on the total system. The total system has the advantage of being able to utilize resources within various subsystems. If "no man is an island, entire of itself," no human organization is an isolate either. There are already many points of connection between universities, school systems, and communities. The teacher support system is another interface, one which we believe is necessary to the success of mainstreamed children and their teachers. It is also a forum for resource sharing between schools and training programs.

If the public schools have not developed a supportive system for classroom teachers, then the training programs have little option but to assist them in doing so. We do not believe that training for mainstreaming can be adequately accomplished without access to sites that integrate exceptional children into regular classes, a

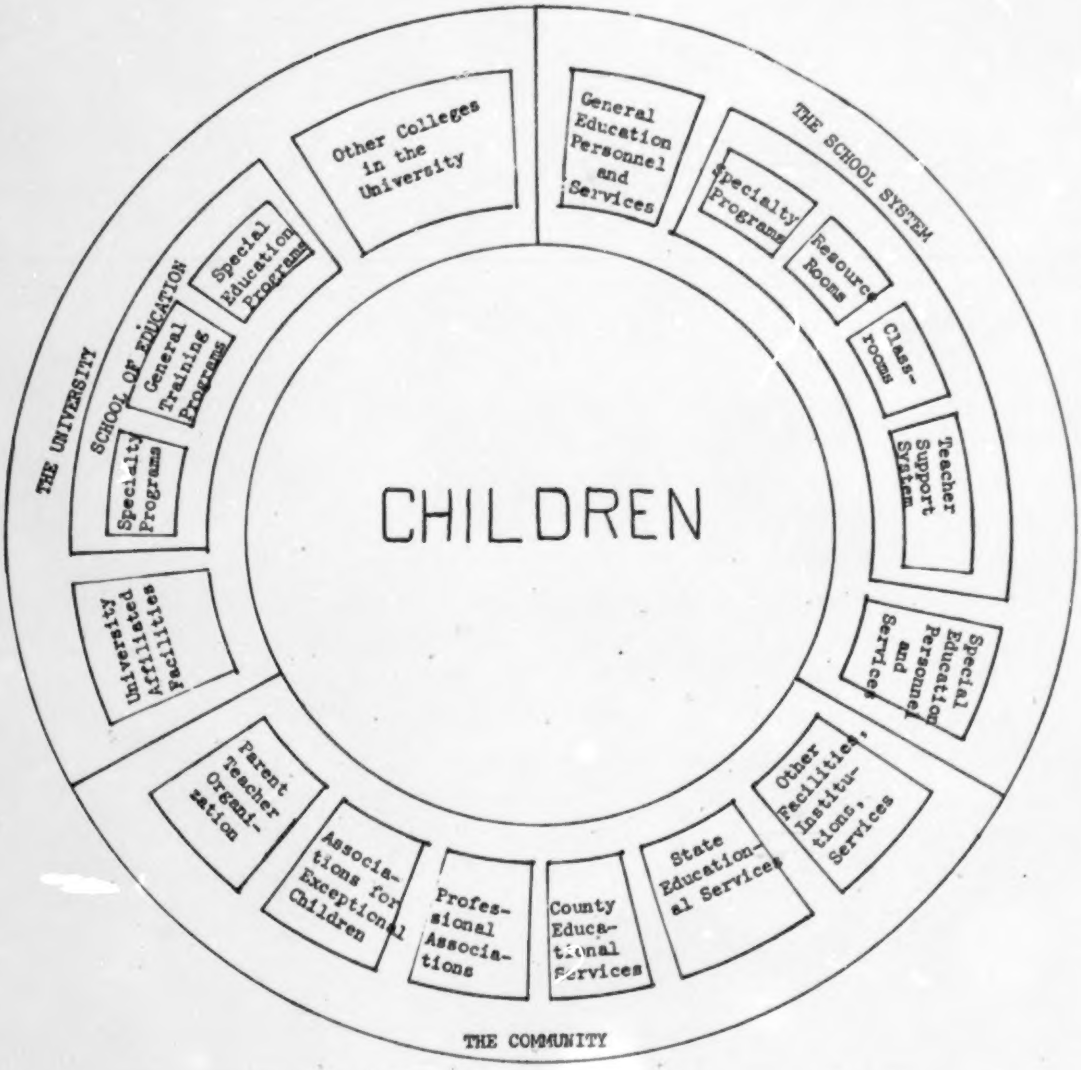

CHILDREN
THE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Specialty Programs
General Training Programs
Special Education Programs
Other Colleges in the University
University Affiliated Facilities
THE SCHOOL SYSTEM
General Education Personnel and Services
Specialty Programs
Resource Rooms
Class-rooms
Teacher Support System
Special Education Personnel and Services
THE COMMUNITY
Other Facilities, Institu-tions, Services
State Education-al Services
County Educa-tional Services
Profes-sional Associa-tions
Associa-tions for Exceptional Children
Parent Teacher Organi-zation

Fig. 1. Three interactive subsystems: The university, the school system, and the community.

process that requires a teacher support system to insure success.

In addition to the crucial helping teacher/classroom teacher relationship, the support system might include the following:

1. Inservice training focused on exceptionality and the issues of mainstreaming.
2. Consultation with experts both inside and outside the system.
3. Material centers containing resources applicable to exceptional children in regular classes.
4. Idea trading seminars in which teachers and administrators from other schools in the system can discuss innovative

approaches used in their schools.

5. Visitations to other school systems which are mainstreaming exceptional children.

6. Paraprofessional assistance when needed.

Although universities cannot be expected assume the responsibility for establishing a teacher support system, their cooperation in designing and implementing such a system would undoubtedly be welcomed.

Once a support system has been developed, the university can continue to serve as a resource to the schools. University faculty can participate in inservice training, serve as outside consultants to classroom teachers and administrators, review and suggest relevant new materials, keep teachers aware of new techniques and innovative approaches, make them aware of exemplary mainstreaming programs at the state and national levels, and assist in the inservice preparation of paraprofessionals. Faculty participation will help teachers to be more effective with all children. For example, the instructor in a methods course will have access to new materials and techniques which will serve the interests of classroom teachers, and an instructor in a foundations course might be aware of a conceptual system which classroom teachers would find valuable in understanding a particular problem.

Although university assistance to the public schools creates a new set of demands on the already limited resources of training programs, these services are more than compensated for by the public school's cooperation in teacher training. The cooperation becomes increasingly evident in planning programs to train teachers for mainstreaming.

The exchange of resources is not a unidirectional proposition. In addition to training sites, the public schools have other resources which are valuable to training programs. The schools, for example, are staffed by practicing professionals who have a day-to-day familiarity with many problems that are discussed in training programs by individuals, often, who have not interacted with school-based problems for years. Courses could be taught in the field with the participation of school professionals. Because mainstreaming necessitates a new relationship between classroom and helping teachers, the schools can assist the training programs in arranging for trainees to observe and participate in their interactions. It may also prove useful to have trainees work with helping teachers for part of their field experiences.

The teacher support system is a source of training-related resources. The facet of the methods coursework which is devoted to exceptionality might be taught in the material center where applicable materials could be demonstrated by responsible material specialists. Inservice training includes sessions conducted by school system experts, other specialists, and training-program faculty. Some of these sessions may be relevant to pre-service training. Participation of preservice trainees in idea-trading seminars could provide them with a comprehensive overview of innovations in the school system. Having preservice trainees accompany teachers on visits to other school systems also has training value, as do interactions with consultants and paraprofessionals.

Both the university and the schools are having to confront the issues of limited resources and the demands of mainstreaming. Both are concerned with the welfare of the students they serve. Both are currently engaged in training at the pre-service and inservice levels. Each has resources which the other could profitably use. The total system approach enables training programs and schools to accomplish objectives which, working alone, they might not even dare to consider. "For training programs the matter is no longer simply better integration with the field for placements. It is the combined role of the practitioners and the university in professional training" (Morse, Bruno, & Morgan, 1971. p. 261).

Mainstreaming adds another dimension of complexity to an already complex process. General education professional programs recognize the necessity to train teachers for mainstreaming but there are constraints on how the training is to be accomplished: limited training periods, the need to maintain current content, and the availability of appropriate training sites. The total system view offers hope for the resolution of these problems. Public schools possess resources that are valuable to training programs and which they should willingly share to the mutual benefit of the schools and the university. The most important of these resources is the teacher support system implicit in mainstreaming. If such a system does not exist, then the university has a responsibility to assist in its development. If it does exist, then the university's responsibility extends to helping to maintain a quality system. By cooperatively assisting each other, the schools will be enabled to mainstream more successfully and the university will have access to the resources it needs for training.

Even if a mainstreamed public school system is available and has the implied support system, training programs have a large investment in insuring that the system is operating well. We have remarked on the importance of practica experiences to training. The greater the quality of the field experiences, the greater will be the quality of the training. Most important, a total system perspective helps keep clearly in mind that all of us in the educational community share a common goal: high-quality education for all children.

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